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INTRODUCTION.

By Dr. Samuel Johnson.

NAVIGATION, like other arts, has been perfected by degrees. It is not easy to conceive, that any age or nation was without some vessel, in which rivers might be passed by travellers, or lakes frequented by fishermen; but we have no knowledge of any ship, that could endure the violence of the ocean, before the ark of Noah.

As the tradition of the deluge has been transmitted to almost all the nations of the earth, it must be supposed, that the memory of the means by which Noah and his family were preserved, would be continued long among their descendants, and that the possibility of passing the seas could never be doubted.

What men know to be practicable a thousand motives will incite them to try; and there is reason to believe, that from the time that the generations of the postdiluvian race spread to the sea shores, there were always navigators that ventured upon the sea, though, perhaps, not willingly beyond the sight of land.

Of the ancient voyages, little certain is known, and it is not necessary to lay before the reader such conjectures as learned men have offered to the world. The Romans, by conquering Carthage, put a stop to great part of the trade of distant nations with one another, and because they thought only on war and conquest, as their empire increased,

commerce was discouraged; till, under the later emperors, ships seem to have been of little other use than to transport soldiers.

Navigation could not be carried to any great degree of certainty without the compass, which was unknown to the ancients. The wonderful quality, by which a needle, or small bar of steel, touched with a loadstone or magnet, and turning freely by equilibration on a point, always preserves the meridian, and directs its two ends north and south, was discovered, according to the common opinion, in 1299, by John Gola, of Amalphi, a town in Italy.

From this time, it is reasonable to suppose, that navigation made continual, though slow improvements, which the confusion and barbarity of the times, and the want of communication between orders of men so distant as sailors and monks, hindered from being distinctly and successively recorded.

It seems, however, that the sailors still wanted either knowledge or courage, for they continued for two centuries, to creep along the coast, and considered every headland as unpassable, which ran far into the sea, and against which the waves broke with uncommon agitation.

The first who is known to have formed the design of new discoveries, or the first who had power to execute his purposes, was Don Henry, the first son of John I. king of Portugal, and Philippina, sister of Henry IV. of England. Don Henry having attended his father to the conquest of Ceuta, obtained, by conversation with the inhabitants of the continent, some accounts of the interior kingdoms and southern coasts of Africa; which, though

rude and indistinct, were sufficient to raise his curiosity, and convince him, that there were countries yet unknown, and worthy of discovery.

He therefore equipped some small vessels, and commanded that they should pass as far as they could along that coast of Africa which looked upon the great Atlantic Ocean, the immensity of which struck the gross and unskilful navigators of those times with terror and amazement. He was not able to communicate his own ardour to his seamen, who proceeded very slowly in the new attempt; each was afraid to venture much farther than he that went before him, and ten years were spent before they had advanced beyond Cape Bajador, so called from its progression into the ocean, and the circuit by which it must be doubled. The opposition of this promontory to the course of the sea, produced a violent current and high waves, into which they durst not venture, and which they had not yet knowledge enough to avoid, by standing off from the land into the open sea.

The prince was desirous to know something of the countries that lay beyond this formidable cape, and sent two commanders, named John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristan Viz, in 1418, to pass beyond Bajador, and survey the coast behind it. They were caught by a tempest, which drove them out into the unknown ocean, where they expected to perish by the violence of the wind, or perhaps to wander for ever in the boundless deep. At last, in the midst of their despair, they found a small island, where they sheltered themselves, and which the sense of their deliverance disposed them to call Puerto Santo, or the Holy Haven.

When they returned with an account of this new

island, Henry performed an act of public thanksgiving, and sent them again with seeds and cattle; and we are told by the Spanish historian, that they set two rabbits on shore, which increased so much, in a few years, that they drove away the inhabitants, by destroying their corn and potatoes, and were suffered to enjoy the island without opposition.

In the second or third voyage to Puerto Santo, (for authors do not agree which,) a third captain, called Perello, was joined to the former. As they looked round the island upon the ocean, they saw, at a distance, something which they took for a cloud, till they perceived that it did not change its place. They directed their course towards it, and in 1419, discovered another island covered with trees, which they therefore called Madeira, or the Isle of Wood.

Madeira was given to Vaz or Zarco, who set fire to the woods, which are reported by Souza to have burnt for seven years together, and to have been wasted, till want of wood was the greatest inconveniency of the place. But green wood is not very apt to burn, and the heavy rains, which fall in these countries, must surely have extinguished the conflagration, were it ever so violent.

There was yet little progress made upon the southern coast, and Henry's project was treated as chimerical, by many of his countrymen. At last, Gilianes, in 1433, passed the dreadful cape, to which he gave the name of Bajador, and came back to the wonder of the nation.

In two voyages more, made in the two following years, they passed forty-two leagues farther, and in the latter, two men with horses being set

on shore, wandered over the country, and found nineteen men, whom, according to the savage manners of that age, they attacked; the natives, having javelins, wounded one of the Portuguese, and received some wounds from them. At the mouth of a river, they found sea-wolves in great numbers, and brought home many of their skins, which were much esteemed.

Antonio Gonzales, who had been one of the associates of Gilianes, was sent again, in 1440, to bring back a cargo of the skins of sea-wolves. He was followed in another ship by Nunno Tristam. They were now of strength sufficient to venture upon violence; they therefore landed, and, without either right or provocation, made all whom they seized their prisoners, and brought them to Portugal, with great commendations both from the prince and the nation.

Henry now began to please himself with the success of his projects; and, as one of his purposes was, the conversion of infidels, he thought it necessary to impart his undertaking to the pope, and to obtain the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. To this end Fernando Lopez d'Azevedo was dispatched to Rome, who related to the pope and cardinals the great designs of Henry, and magnified his zeal for the propagation of religion. The pope was pleased with the narrative, and, by a formal bull, conferred upon the crown of Portugal all the countries which should be discovered as far as India, together with India itself; and granted several privileges and indulgences to the churches which Henry had built in his new regions, and to the men engaged in the navigation for discovery. By this bull, all other princes were forbidden to

encroach upon the conquests of the Portuguese, on pain of the censures incurred by the crime of usurpation.

The approbation of the pope, the sight of men, whose manners and appearance were so different from those of Europeans, and the hope of gain from golden regions, which has been always the great incentive to hazard and discovery, now began to operate with full force. The desire of riches, and of dominion, which is yet more pleasing to the fancy, filled the courts of the Portuguese prince with innumerable adventurers from very distant parts of Europe. Some wanted to be employed in the search after new countries, and some to be settled in those which had been already found.

Communities now began to be animated by the spirit of enterprise, and many associations were formed for the equipment of ships, and the acquisition of the riches of distant regions, which, perhaps, were always supposed to be more wealthy, as more remote. These undertakers agreed to pay the prince a fifth part of the profit, sometimes a greater share, and sent out the armament at their own expence.

The city of Lagos was the first that carried on this design by contribution. The inhabitants fitted out six vessels, under the command of Lucarot, one of the prince's houshold; and, soon after, fourteen more were furnished, for the same purpose, under the same commander; to those were added many belonging to private men, so that in a short time twenty-six ships put to sea, in quest of whatever fortune should present.

The ships of Lagos were soon separated by foul weather, and the rest, taking each its own course,

stopped at different parts of the African coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape Verd. Some of them, in 1444, anchored at Gomera, one of the Canaries, where they were kindly treated by the inhabitants, who took them into their service against the people of the Isle of Palma, with whom they were at war; but the Portuguese, at their return to Gomera, not being made so rich as they expected, fell upon their friends, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality and stipulations of alliance, and making several of them prisoners and slaves, set sail for Lisbon.

The Canaries are supposed to have been known, however imperfectly, to the ancients; but in the confusion of the subsequent ages, they were lost and forgotten, till about the year 1340, the Biscayners found Lucarot, and invading it, (for to find a new country and invade it has always been the same,) brought away seventy captives, and some commodities of the place. Louis de la Cerda, count of Clermont, of the blood royal both of France and Spain, nephew of John de la Cerda, who called himself the Prince of Fortune, had once a mind to settle in those islands, and applying himself first to the king of Arragon, and then to Clement VI. was by the pope crowned at Avignon, king of the Canaries, on condition that he should reduce them to the true religion; but the prince altered his mind, and went into France, to serve against the English. The kings, both of Castile and Portugal, though they did not oppose the papal grant, yet complained of it, as made without their knowledge, and in contravention of their rights.

The first settlement in the Canaries was made by John de Betancour, a French gentleman, for

whom his kinsman, Robin de Braquement, admiral of France, begged them, with the title of king, from Henry the Magnificent, of Castile, to whom he had done eminent services. John made himself master of some of the small isles, but could never conquer the Grand Canary; and having spent all that he had, went back to Europe, leaving his nephew, Massiot de Betancour, to take care of his new dominion. Massiot had a quarrel with the vicar-general, and was likewise disgusted by the long absence of his uncle, whom the French king detained in his service, and, being able to keep his ground no longer, he transferred his rights to Don Henry, in exchange for some districts in the Madeiras, where he settled his family.

Don Henry, when he had purchased those islands, sent thither, in 1424, two thousand five hundred foot, and a hundred and twenty horse; but the army was too numerous to be maintained by the country. The king of Castile afterwards claimed them, as conquered by his subjects, under Betancour, and held under the crown of Castile by fealty and homage; his claim was allowed, and the Canaries were resigned.

It was the constant practice of Henry's navigators, when they stopped at a desert island, to land cattle upon it, and leave them to breed, where neither wanting room nor food, they multiplied very fast, and furnished a very commodious supply to those who came afterwards to the same place. This was imitated, in some degree, by Anson, at the isle of Juan Fernandez.

The islands of Madeira he not only filled with inhabitants, assisted by artificers of every kind, but procured such plants as seemed likely to

flourish in that climate, and introduced sugar-canes and vines, which afterwards produced a very large revenue.

The trade of Africa now began to be profitable, but a great part of the gain arose from the sale of slaves, who were annually brought into Portugal, by hundreds, as Lafitau relates, and without any appearance of indignation or compassion; they likewise imported gold dust in such quantities, that Alphonsus V. coined it into a new species of money, called crusades, which is still continued in Portugal.

In time they made their way along the south coast of Africa, eastward, to the country of the Negroes, whom they found living in tents, without any political institutions, supporting life with very little labour, by the milk of their kine, and millet, to which those, who inhabited the coast, added fish dried in the sun. Having never seen the natives, or heard of the arts of Europe, they gazed with astonishment on the ships, when they approached their coasts, sometimes thinking them birds, and sometimes fishes, according as their sails were spread or lowered; and sometimes conceiving them to be only phantoms, which played to and fro in the ocean. Such is the account given by the historian, perhaps with too much prejudice against a Negro's understanding; who, though he might well wonder at the bulk and swiftness of the first ship, would scarcely conceive it to be either a bird or a fish; but having seen many bodies floating in the water, would think it, what it really is, a large boat; and if he had no knowledge of any means by which separate pieces of timber may be joined together, would form very wild notions concerning its construction, or perhaps suppose it to be a hollow trunk

of a tree, from some country where trees grow to a much greater height and thickness than in his own.

When the Portuguese came to land, they increased the astonishment of the poor inhabitants, who saw men clad in iron, with thunder and lightning in their hands. They did not understand each other, and signs are a very imperfect mode of communication, even to men of more knowledge than the Negroes, so that they could not easily negociate or traffic; at last the Portuguese laid hands on some of them, to carry them home for a sample; and their dread and amazement were raised, says Lafitau, to the highest pitch, when the Europeans fired their cannon and muskets among them, and they saw their companions fall dead at their feet, without any enemy at hand, or any visible cause of their destruction.

On what occasion, or for what purpose, cannon and muskets were discharged among a people harmless and secure, by strangers, who without any right visited their coast, it is not thought necessary to inform us. The Portuguese could fear nothing from them, and had therefore no adequate provocation; nor is there any reason to believe but that they murdered the Negroes in wanton merriment, perhaps only to try how many a volley would destroy, or what would be the consternation of those that should escape. We are openly told, that they had the less scruple concerning the treatment of the savage people, because they scarcely considered them as distinct from beasts; and, indeed, the practice of all the European nations, and among others, of the English barbarians, that cultivate the southern islands of America, proves, that this opinion, however absurd and foolish, however wicked

and injurious, still continues to prevail. Interest and pride harden the heart, and it is in vain to dispute against avarice and power.

By these practices the first discoverers alienated the natives from them, and, whenever a ship appeared, every one that could fly betook himself to the mountains and the woods, so that nothing was to be got more than they could steal; they sometimes surprised a few fishers, and made them slaves, and did what they could to offend the Negroes, and enrich themselves. This practice of robbery continued till some of the Negroes, who had been enslaved, learned the language of Portugal, so as to be able to interpret for their countrymen, and one John Fernandez applied himself to the Negro tongue.

From this time began something like a regular traffic, such as can subsist between nations where all the power is on one side; and a factory was settled in the island of Arguin, under the protection of a fort. The profit of this new trade was assigned, for a certain term, to Ferdinando Gomez, which seems to be the common method of establishing a trade, that is yet too small to engage the care of a nation, and can only be enlarged by that attention which is bestowed by private men upon private advantage. Gomez continued the discoveries to Cape Catherine, two degrees and a half beyond the line.

In the latter part of the reign of Alphonsus V. the ardour of discovery was somewhat intermitted, and all commercial enterprises were interrupted by the wars, in which he was engaged with various success. But John II. who succeeded, being fully convinced both of the honour and advantage of

extending his dominions, in countries hitherto unknown, prosecuted the designs of prince Henry with the utmost vigour, and, in a short time, added to his other titles, that of king of Guinea and of the coast of Africa.

In 1463, in the third year of the reign of John II. died prince Henry, the first encourager of remote navigation, by whose incitement, patronage and example, distant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of Europe has been extended to the remotest parts of the world. What mankind has lost and gained, by the genius and designs of this prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty been committed; the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practise cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of Henry had slept in his bosom, and surely more happy for the oppressors. But there is reason to hope, that out of so much evil, good may sometimes be produced, and that the light of the gospel will at last illuminate the sands of Africa, and the desarts of America, though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of Christians.

The death of Henry did not interrupt the progress of king John, who was very strict in his injunctions, not only to make discoveries, but to secure

possession of the countries that were found. The practice of the first navigators was only to raise a cross upon the coast, and to carve upon trees the device of Don Henry, the name which they thought it proper to give to the coast, and any other information for those that might happen to follow them; but now they began to erect piles of stone, with a cross on the top, and engraved on the stone the arms of Portugal, the name of the king, and of the commander of the ship, with the day and year of the discovery. This was accounted sufficient to prove their claim to the new lands, which might be pleaded, with justice enough, against any other Europeans, and the rights of the original inhabitants were never taken into notice. Of these stone records, nine more were erected in the reign of king John, along the coast of Africa, as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

The fortress in the isle of Arguin was finished, and it was found necessary to build another at S. Georgio de la Mina, a few degrees north of the line, to secure the trade of gold dust, which was chiefly carried on at that place. For this purpose, a fleet was fitted out, of ten large and three smaller vessels, freighted with materials for building the fort, and with provisions and ammunition for six hundred men, of whom one hundred were workmen and labourers. Father Lafitau relates, in very particular terms, that these ships carried hewn stones, bricks, and timber for the fort, so that nothing remained but barely to erect it. He does not seem to consider, how small a fort could be made out of the lading of ten ships.

The command of this fleet was given to Don Diego d'Azambue, who set sail December 11, 1481,

and, reaching La Mina, January 19, 1482, gave immediate notice of his arrival to Caramanso, a petty prince of that part of the country, whom he very earnestly invited to an immediate conference.

Having received a message of civility from the Negro chief, he landed, and chose a rising ground proper for his intended fortress, on which he planted a banner with the arms of Portugal, and took possession in the name of his master. He then raised an altar at the foot of a great tree, on which mass was celebrated; the whole assembly, says Lafitau, breaking out into tears of devotion, at the prospect of inviting these barbarous nations to the profession of the true faith. Being secure of the goodness of the end, they had no scruple about the means, nor even considered, how differently from the primitive apostles and martyrs they were attempting to make proselytes. The first propagators of Christianity recommended their doctrines by their sufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceless territories with swords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right, nor polluted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade, or insolence of power.

What may still raise higher the indignation of a christian mind, this purpose of propagating truth appears never to have been seriously pursued by any European nation; no means, whether lawful or unlawful, have been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages. When a fort is built, and a factory established, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is soon found, that ignorance is most easily kept in subjection; and that, by enlightening the mind

by truth, fraud and usurpation would be made less practicable, and less secure.

In a few days an interview was appointed between Caramansa and d'Azambue. The Portuguese uttered by his interpreter a pompous speech, in which he made the Negro prince large offers of his master's friendship, exhorted him to embrace the religion of his new ally, and told him, that, as they came to form a league of friendship with him, it was necessary that they should build a fort, which might serve as a retreat from their common enemies, and in which the Portuguese might be always at hand to lend him assistance.

The Negroe, who seemed very well to understand what the admiral intended, after a short pause, returned an answer full of respect to the king of Portugal, but appeared a little doubtful what to determine with relation to the fort. The commander saw his diffidence, and used all his art of persuasion to overcome it. Caramansa, either induced by hope, or constrained by fear, either desirous to make them friends, or not daring to make them enemies, consented, with a show of joy, to that which it was not in his power to refuse; and the new comers began the next day to break the ground for a foundation of a fort.

Within the limits of their intended fortification were some spots, appropriated to superstitious practices, which the Negroes no sooner perceived in danger of violation by the spade and pick-axe, than they ran to arms, and began to interrupt the work. The Portuguese persisted in their purpose, and there had soon been tumult and bloodshed, had not the admiral, who was at a distance, to superintend the unlading the materials for the

edifice, been informed of the danger. He was told, at the same time, that the support of their superstition was only a pretence, and that all their rage might be appeased by the presents which the prince expected, the delay of which had greatly offended him.

The Portuguese admiral immediately ran to his men, prohibited all violence, and stopped the commotion; he then brought out the presents, and spread them with great pomp before the prince; if they were of no great value they were rare, for the Negroes had never seen such wonders before; they were, therefore, received with ecstasy, and perhaps the Portuguese derided them for their fondness of trifles, without considering how many things derive their value only from their scarcity, and that gold and rubies would be trifles, if nature had scattered them with less frugality

The work was now peaceably continued, and such was the diligence with which the strangers hastened to secure the possession of the country, that in twenty days they had sufficiently fortified themselves against the hostility of the Negroes. They then proceeded to complete their design. A church was built in the place where the first altar had been raised, on which a mass was established, to be celebrated for ever, once a day, for the repose of the soul of Henry, the first mover of these discoveries.

In this fort the admiral remained with sixty soldiers, and sent back the rest in the ships, with gold, slaves, and other commodities. It may be observed, that slaves were never forgotten, and that, wherever they went, they gratified their pride, if not their avarice, and brought some of

the natives, when it happened that they brought nothing else.

The Portuguese endeavoured to extend their dominions still farther. They had gained some knowledge of the Jaloffs, a nation inhabiting the coast of Guinea, between the Gambia and Senegal. The king of the Jaloffs being vicious and luxurious, committed the care of the government to Bemoin, his brother by the mother's side, in preference to two other brothers by his father. Bemoin, who wanted neither bravery nor prudence, knew that his station was invidious and dangerous, and therefore made an alliance with the Portuguese, and retained them in his defence by liberality and kindness. At last the king was killed by the contrivance of his brothers, and Bemoin was to lose his power, or maintain it by war.

He had recourse in this exigence to his great ally, the king of Portugal, who promised to support him, on condition that he should become a Christian, and sent an ambassador accompanied with missionaries. Bemoin promised all that was required, objecting only that the time of a civil war was not a proper season for the change of religion, which would alienate his adherents; but said, that when he was once peaceably established, he would not only embrace the true religion himself, but would endeavour the conversion of the kingdom.

This excuse was admitted, and Bemoin delayed his conversion for a year, renewing his promise from time to time. But the war was unsuccessful, trade was at a stand, and Bemoin was not able to pay the money which he had borrowed of the Portuguese merchants, who sent intelligence to Lisbon

of his delays, and received an order from the king, commanding them under severe penalties to return home.

Bemoin here saw his ruin approaching, and hoping that money would pacify all resentment, borrowed of his friends a sum sufficient to discharge his debts; and finding that even this enticement would not delay the departure of the Portuguese, he embarked his nephew in their ships with a hundred slaves, whom he presented to the king of Portugal, to solicit his assistance. The effect of this embassy he could not stay to know, for being soon after deposed, he sought shelter in the fortress of Arguin, whence he took shipping for Portugal with twenty-five of his principal followers.

The king of Portugal pleased his own vanity, and that of his subjects, by receiving him with great state and magnificence, as a mighty monarch who had fled to an ally for succour in misfortune. All the lords and ladies of the court were assembled, and Bemoin was conducted with a splendid attendance into the hall of audience, where the king rose from his throne to welcome him. Bemoin then made a speech with great ease and dignity, representing his unhappy state, and imploring the favour of his powerful ally. The king was touched with his affliction, and struck by his wisdom.

The conversion of Bemoin was much desired by the king, and it was immediately proposed to him that he should become a Christian. Ecclesiastics were sent to instruct him, and having now no more obstacles from interest, he was easily persuaded to declare himself whatever would please those on whom he now depended. He was baptized December 3d, 1489, in the palace of the queen, with

great magnificence, and named John, after the king.

Some time was spent in feasts and sports on this great occasion; and the Negroes signalised themselves by many feats of agility, far surpassing the power of Europeans, who, having more helps of art, are less diligent to cultivate the qualities of nature. In the mean time, twenty large ships were fitted out, well manned, stored with ammunition, and laden with materials necessary for the erection of a fort. With this powerful armament were sent a great number of missionaries, under the direction of Alvarez, the king's confessor. The command of this force, which filled the coast of Africa with terror, was given to Pedro Vaz d'Acugna, surnamed Bisagu; who, soon after they had landed, not being well pleased with his expedition, put an end to its inconvenience by stabbing Bemoin suddenly to the heart. The king heard of this outrage with great sorrow, but did not attempt to punish the murderer.

The king's concern for the restoration of Bemoin was not the mere effect of kindness, he hoped by his help to facilitate greater designs. He now began to form hopes of finding a way to the East Indies, and of enriching his country by that gainful commerce: this he was encouraged to believe practicable, by a map which the Moors had given to prince Henry, and which subsequent discoveries have shown to be sufficiently near to exactness, where a passage round the south part of Africa was evidently described.

The king had another scheme yet more likely to engage curiosity, and not irreconcileable with his interest. The world had for some time been filled

with the report of a powerful Christian prince called Prester John, whose country was unknown, and whom some, after Paulus Venetus, supposed to reign in the midst of Asia, and others in the depth of Ethiopia, between the ocean and Red Sea. The account of the African Christians was confirmed by some Abyssinians who had travelled into Spain, and by some friars that had visited the Holy Land; and the king was extremely desirous of their correspondence and alliance.

Some obscure intelligence had been obtained, which made it seem probable, that a way might be found from the countries lately discovered, to those of this far-famed monarch. In 1486, an ambassador came from the king of Bemin, to desire that preachers might be sent to instruct him and his subjects in the true religion. He related, that in the inland country, 350 leagues eastward from Bemin, was a mighty monarch called Ogane, who had jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, over other kings; that the king of Bemin and his neighbours, at their accession, sent ambassadors to him with presents, and received from him the investiture of their dominions, and the marks of sovereignty, which were, a kind of sceptre, a helmet, and a latten cross, without which they could not be considered as lawful kings: that this great prince was never seen, but on the day of audience, and then held out one of his feet to the ambassador, who kissed it with great reverence, and who at his departure had a cross of latten hung on his neck, which ennobled him thenceforward, and exempted him from all servile offices.

Bemoin had likewise told the king, that to the east of the kingdom of Tombut, there was, among

other princes, one that was neither mahometan nor idolater, but who seemed to profess a religion nearly resembling the christian. These informations, compared with each other, and with the current accounts of Prester John, induced the king to an opinion, which, though formed somewhat at hazard, is still believed to be right, that, by passing up the river Senegal, his dominions would be found. It was, therefore, ordered, that when the fortress was finished an attempt should be made to pass upward to the source of the river. The design failed then, and has never yet succeeded.

Other ways likewise were tried of penetrating to the kingdom of Prester John, for the king resolved to leave neither sea nor land unsearched till he should be found. The two messengers, who were sent first on this design, went to Jerusalem, and then returned, being persuaded, that for want of understanding the language of the country, it would be vain or impossible to travel any farther. Two more were then dispatched, one of whom was Pedro de Corvillan, the other Alphonso de Paiva: they passed from Naples to Alexandria, and then travelled to Cairo, from whence they went to Aden, a town of Arabia, on the Red Sea, near its mouth. From Aden Paiva set sail for Ethiopia, and Corvillan for the Indies. Corvillan visited Conaver, Calicut and Goa in the Indies, and Sofula in the eastern Africa, whence he returned to Aden, and then to Cairo, where he had agreed to meet Paiva. At Cairo he was informed that Paiva was dead, but he met with two Portuguese Jews, one of whom had given the king an account of the situation and trade of Ormus: they brought orders to Corvillan, that he should send

one of them home with the journal of his travels, and go to Ormus with the other.

Corvillan obeyed the orders, sending an exact account of his adventures to Lisbon, and proceeding with the other messenger to Ormus, where, having made sufficient inquiry, he sent his companion homewards with the caravans that were going to Aleppo, and embarking once more on the Red Sea, arrived in time at Abyssinia, and found the prince whom he had sought so long and with such danger.

Two ships were sent out upon the same search, of which Bartholomew Diaz had the chief command; they were attended by a smaller vessel laden with provisions, that they might not return upon pretence of want, either felt or feared.

Navigation was now brought nearer to perfection. The Portuguese claim the honour of many inventions by which the sailor is assisted, and which enable him to leave sight of land, and commit himself to the boundless ocean. Diaz had orders to proceed beyond the river Zaire, where Diego Can had stopped, to build monuments of his discoveries, and to leave upon the coasts Negro men and women, well instructed, who might inquire after Prester John, and fill the natives with reverence for the Portuguese.

Diaz, with much opposition from his crew, whose mutinies he repressed partly by softness and partly by steadiness, sailed until he reached the utmost point of Africa, which, from the bad weather that he met there, he called Cabo Tormentoso, or the Cape of Storms. He would have gone forward, but his crew forced him to return. In his way back he met the victualler, from which he had been

parted nine months before; of the nine men which were in it at the separation, six had been killed by the Negroes, and of the three remaining, one died for joy at the sight of his friends. Diaz returned to Lisbon in December 1488, and gave an account of his voyage to the king, who ordered the Cape of Storms to be called thenceforward, Cabo de Buena Esperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope.

Some time before the expedition of Diaz, the river Zaire and the kingdom of Congo had been discovered by Diego Can, who found a nation of Negroes, who spoke a language which those that were in his ships could not understand. He landed, and the natives, whom he expected to fly like the other inhabitants of the coast, met them with confidence, and treated them with kindness; but Diego, finding that they could not understand each other, seized some of their chiefs, and carried them to Portugal, leaving some of his own people in their room, to learn the language of Congo.

The Negroes were soon pacified, and the Portuguese left to their mercy were well treated; and as they by degrees grew able to make themselves understood, recommended themselves, their nation, and their religion. The king of Portugal sent Diego back, in a very short time, with the Negroes whom he had forced away; and when they were set safe on shore, the king of Congo conceived so much esteem for Diego, that he sent one of those, who had returned back again, in his ship to Lisbon, with two young men, dispatched as ambassadors, to desire instructors to be sent for the conversion of his kingdom.

The ambassadors were honourably received, and baptized with great pomp, and a fleet was imme-

diately fitted out for Congo, under the command of Gonsalvo Sorza, who, dying in his passage, was succeeded in authority by his nephew Roderigo.

When they came to land, the king's uncle, who commanded the province, immediately requested to be solemnly initiated into the Christian religion, which was granted to him and his young son, on Easter-day, 1491. The father was named Manuel, and the son Antonio. Soon afterwards the king, queen, and eldest prince, received at the font the names of John, Eleanor and Alphonso; and a war breaking out, the whole army was admitted to the rites of Christianity, and then sent against the enemy. They returned victorious, but soon forgot their faith, and formed a conspiracy to restore paganism: a powerful opposition was raised by infidels and apostates, headed by one of the king's younger sons; and the missionaries had been destroyed, had not Alphonso pleaded for them and for Christianity.

The enemies of religion now became the enemies of Alphonso, whom they accused to his father of disloyalty. His mother, queen Eleanor, gained time, by one artifice after another, until the king was calmed; he then heard the cause again, declared his son innocent, and punished his accusers with death.

The king died soon after, and the throne was disputed by Alphonso, supported by the Christians, and Aquitimo, his brother, followed by the infidels. A battle was fought, Aquitimo was taken and put to death, and Christianity was for a time established in Congo, but the nation has relapsed into its former follies.

Such was the state of the Portuguese navigation,

when, in 1492, Columbus made the daring and prosperous voyage, which gave a new world to European curiosity and European cruelty. He had offered his proposal, and declared his expectations to John, king of Portugal, who slighted him as a a fanciful and rash projector, that promised what he had not reasonable hopes to perform. Columbus had solicited other princes, and had been repulsed with the same indignity; at last Isabella of Arragon furnished him with ships, and having found America, he entered the mouth of the Tagus in his return, and showed the natives of the new country. When he was admitted to the king's presence, he acted and talked with so much haughtiness, and reflected on the neglect which he had undergone, with so much acrimony, that the courtiers, who saw their prince insulted, offered to destroy him; but the king, who knew that he deserved the reproaches that had been used, and who now sincerely regretted his incredulity, would suffer no violence to be offered him, but dismissed him with presents and with honours.

The Portuguese and Spaniards became now jealous of each other's claim to countries, which neither had yet seen; and the pope, to whom they appealed, divided the new world between them, by a line drawn from north to south, a hundred leagues westward from Cape Verd and the Azores, giving all that lies east to the Portuguese. This was no satisfactory division, for the east and west must meet at last, but that time was then at a great distance.

According to this grant, the Portuguese continued their discoveries eastward, and became masters of much of the coast both of Africa and the

Indies; but they seized much more than they could occupy, and while they were under the dominion of Spain, lost the greater part of their Indian territories,

THE

WORLD DISPLAYED.

THE VOYAGES

OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

Columbus's first voyage. The difficulties with which it was attended. His discovery of the Lucayan or Bahama islands, of Cuba and Hispaniola. His return to Spain and reception.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in the territory of Genoa, and being early taught navigation, lived by drawing charts for the sea service. The skill of the Portuguese in maritime affairs engaged him to settle at Lisbon, where by his sobriety, temperance, and the regularity of his conduct, he acquired a considerable number of friends, married a woman of fortune, and, for some time after, traded to the coast of Guinea.

Columbus, reasoning upon the spherical figure of the earth, thought it highly probable, that the continent on one side was balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other; in which he was fully confirmed, by observing, when at the Cape de Verde Islands, that the winds, at a certain season, blew constantly from the west, which he thought must be owing to a large tract of land on that side. And as the Portuguese had already dis-

covered great part of the coast of Africa, and were filled with hopes of finding a passage to the Indies, he had no doubt that, by sailing to the west, he should discover a shorter way thither, and by that means obtain the spices, and other rich commodities of those countries, much cheaper than they were sold to the Venetians in Egypt, after being brought by land through Persia.

Having strengthened his opinion by many observations drawn from reason, he laid them before the state of Genoa, with a proposal for making new discoveries; but that republic rejected his scheme, from the fear of drawing upon it the resentment of several princes; on which he addressed himself to John II. king of Portugal, who listened to his project, and amused him with the hopes of putting it in practice, till having drawn from him the essential part of his scheme, he, under the pretence of sending supplies to the Cape de Verde Islands, fitted out a vessel, in order to make these discoveries, without allowing Columbus either the profit or honour he might justly have hoped to receive from them. His ungenerous enterprise, however, miscarried, through a want of courage and conduct in the persons employed.

This unfair and clandestine conduct was so deeply resented by Columbus, that he resolved to leave Portugal, and that very year, 1485, sent his brother Bartholomew, with the same proposals, to Henry VII. king of England, while he himself prepared to go to Spain on the same account; but Bartholomew being taken and plundered by pirates on his passage, was, on his arrival at London, reduced to such extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his majesty, until by

drawing and selling charts he obtained some reputation, and put himself into such an equipage as was necessary for his obtaining access to the king. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the success that could be desired, and actually entered into an agreement with Henry VII. on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher closed with their catholic majesties.

Meanwhile Christopher Columbus met with many difficulties at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where his scheme being treated as an idle chimerical project, and himself exposed to ridicule, he was with difficulty prevented, by some who espoused his cause, from coming to England, to see what success his brother Bartholomew had met with. However, queen Isabella, at length approving his scheme, the articles of agreement were signed in 1492, by which Columbus was made viceroy of the countries, and admiral of the seas he should discover; that he should have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found, or acquired within those limits, after the charge of the conquest should be defrayed, together with an eighth part of all he should bring home with his fleet, in consideration of which he was to be at one-eighth part of the expence in fitting it out.

The necessary preliminaries being thus adjusted, he was allowed three small vessels, the Santa Maria, commanded by himself; the Pinta, under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the Nina, with square sails, commanded by Vincent Yanez Pinzon, brother to the former; the latter furnishing one-half of Columbus's share of the expence.

This small fleet, which carried only about one

hundred and twenty men,* set sail from Palos, on the 3d of August, 1492, but the next morning the rudder of the Pinta broke loose, which obliged the admiral to lie by. This damage, which was supposed to have been contrived by the master, who was averse to the voyage, was, however, soon repaired. This accident some of the superstitious seamen would have interpreted as an ill omen; but Columbus wisely told them, that no omen could be evil, where people were engaged in a good design. He endeavoured to divert their attention from such trifles, by teaching them the principles of navigation, and to keep up their spirits, by giving them right sentiments of the undertaking in which they were embarked.

The fleet reached the Canaries on the 11th, and staid at the islands of Grand Canaria and Isabella, until the 6th of September, in order to purchase another ship; but, being disappointed, they sailed to the westward with very little wind. Three days after losing sight of land, many of the seamen wept bitterly, from an apprehension that they should never see it more. To remove this childish despondency, which it was feared would infect the whole company, Columbus gave them the most confident assurances of prosperity and wealth, and, at the same time, thought proper to deceive them in his reckoning; for though they sailed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended they had made no more than fifteen, resolving thus to disguise his reckoning during the whole voyage, that they might not think themselves so far from Spain as they really were.

* Herrera says, that this fleet was only manned by ninety; but other authors, of good authority, represent the number as above.

On the 12th of September he was 150 leagues west of Ferro, and, at this distance from land, discovered the body of a large tree, which appeared to have been long floating in the water. He here found a strong current setting to the north-east, and having run fifty leagues farther westward, he, on the 13th, perceived the needle varying half a point towards the north-east, and at day-break half a point more. This variation, which had never been observed before,* filled him with great surprise; but his amazement was much increased, when, sailing about 100 leagues farther, he found that the needle varied at night about a point to the north-east, and in the morning pointed upon the north-star.

On the 14th, the people on board the Nina were surprised at the sight of a heron, and some tropic birds; but the next day their astonishment was greatly increased, at seeing the sea covered with green and yellow weeds, that seemed to have been lately washed away from some rock or island: hence they concluded that they were near land, especially as they found a live lobster floating among the weeds, and afterwards perceived the sea-water grow less salt as they advanced; they were also attended by a great shoal of tunny-fish.

On the 18th, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the Pinta, who was ahead, lay to for the admiral, and informed him, that he had seen a great number of birds flying westward, and thought he discovered land to the northward at fifteen leagues distance; but the admiral, being convinced that he was mistaken, would not alter his course, though soli-

* This still continues one of the inexplicable phenomena of nature.

cited by the people, who readily gave credit to such an agreeable illusion; but the next day the admiral seeing a number of sea-gulls, which he supposed could not fly far, began himself to conceive hopes of soon reaching land; yet sounding with a line of two hundred fathom, he could find no bottom. Three days after they took a bird like a heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the head, and web-footed; they also saw abundance of weeds, and in the evening were visited by three small singing-birds, which flew away at day-break, and confirmed Columbus in the opinion, that they could not be far from land. The next day they also saw a tropic bird, but met with such a quantity of weeds, as filled them with apprehensions that their course would be impeded.

As the wind had hitherto been always right astern, the people were under the most dreadful apprehensions, that they should never have a fair gale to carry them back; but about this time it shifted to the south-west, which gave great satisfaction to the admiral, as it afforded him room to convince the sailors of the vanity of their fears; yet, notwithstanding all his reasons and remonstrances, they began loudly to murmur, from the apprehension of perishing at sea in quest of a country that had no existence; and their discontent made them so outrageous, that a mutiny would probably have ensued, had not a brisk wind sprung up at the west-north-west, and demonstrated, that they should always have a chance for returning. Their hope of obtaining land was also revived by seeing a pigeon fly over the ship, and by the sight of several small birds flying from the west.

In proportion as the people were elated by these

signs, the greater was their mortification on their disappointment. They not only loudly complained against the admiral, who, they said, had, from a foolish and ill-grounded fancy, formed the design of raising his own fortune and family at their expence, but caballed against him, maintaining, that they had already proceeded far enough to show their courage and perseverance, and that it was, therefore, high time to return to their friends and country, though they should even be obliged to compel Columbus to consent to it. They considered that the admiral was a foreigner, and, therefore, would scarcely have interest enough at court to bring them to punishment for their disobedience, especially as he had powerful enemies, who, they knew, would embrace every opportunity of opposing his designs. In short, their terror and despair were raised to such a height, that some proposed throwing him overboard, and alleged, that, when that was done, they should be secured from all farther danger, by their affirming, on their return to Spain, that he had fallen into the sea while he was making his observations. Columbus, who was not ignorant of this mutinous spirit, exerted all his abilities in order to remove it: he sometimes represented the duty they owed him, as being invested with a legal authority, which he was resolved to maintain at the hazard of his life; and, at others, reproached them with their pusillanimity and impatience, which even the most evident signs of their being near land could not remove. In short, he showed the folly of their fears, and so far encouraged their hopes, as to prevent their taking any resolution that could prejudice the important enterprise in which they were engaged.

On the 25th of September, about sun-set, Pinzon, whose ship was alongside of the admiral, suddenly cried out, "Land! land!" and pointed towards the south-west, where there appeared something like an island, at twenty-five leagues distance. This at once filled the men with such joy, that they gave thanks to God with great fervour and devotion, and though Columbus was of a different opinion, he readily complied with their clamorous demand of sailing to it, and stood towards the supposed island during the greatest part of the night; but, in the morning, they saw all their hopes vanished, when their dissatisfaction returning, they renewed their complaints. The admiral, however, with a steadiness and intrepidity peculiar to himself, persisted in the execution of his purpose.

On the 29th they saw several wagtails and gulls, many flying-fishes also appeared, and sometimes fell into the ship, and in the afternoon, they met with a large quantity of weeds, which the men fancied afforded a proof that there was ground near them under water, and that they should soon run upon it and perish.

On the 1st of October, the pilot of the admiral's ship was, by his own account, five hundred and seventy-eight leagues west of the island of Ferro, and though the distance, according to Columbus's reckoning, was seven hundred and seven, he winked at the mistake, lest the sailors should be more dejected on knowing their great distance from home. Two days after, perceiving no birds, they imagined they had passed between some islands, and the sailors earnestly intreated the admiral to steer either to the one side or to the other, in quest of

the land they imagined they had left. He, however, refused to comply with their entreaties, being unwilling to lose the favourable wind that carried him to the westward, and resolved not to take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his course from that which he had all along assured them would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude they termed obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the point of taking some desperate resolution to his prejudice, when their hopes were again revived by the arrival of upwards of forty sparrows, and other birds, flying from the west.

On the 7th of October there appeared some imperfect signs of land; for though their catholic majesties had promised a pension of thirty crowns per annum for life, to him who should be so happy as first to discover land, yet, in order to prevent the noisy exclamations at every trifling imagination of this sort, it was also decreed, that whoever should cry land three days before it was actually made, should forfeit the reward, even though it should be afterwards proved that he was the discoverer. In spite of this precaution, the Nina, which, being the best sailer, kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours in token of land; but the appearance that misled them totally vanished at their nearer approach. The people were, however, the next day, in some measure, comforted under their disappointment, by observing many flights of large and small birds, which proceeded from the west to the south-west, when the admiral being fully persuaded that they could not go far to sea, in imitation of the Portuguese, who had discovered several small

islands by following the flight of such birds, altered his course, and stood to the south-west; for he had now run seven hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of the Canaries, within which space he himself expected to make land.

On the 8th of October they were visited by twelve singing birds, of different colours, and saw many others, as jays, ducks and gulls, flying to the south-west. The air also appeared fresh and odoriferous, but the pusillanimous seamen had been so often deceived, that these certain signs of their being near land could not suppress their murmurs, which, during the two following days, increased to such a degree, that Columbus, in spite of all his endeavours, would not have been able much longer to have withstood the storm, which was ready to burst into open rebellion, when it was providentially dissipated by such manifest proofs of their approach to land as could not be disputed.

On the 11th of October, those on board the admiral's ship saw a green rush, together with a large rock-fish, swim by the ship; the sailors of the Pinta discovered a cane floating, and, what was much more extraordinary, took up a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board, and, at the same time, the crew of the Nina perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

These objects having now assured the admiral of their near approach to land, he, at night, after prayers, reminded them of the mercy of God in granting them fair weather during such a long voyage, and exhorted them to be vigilant that night, as he expected to see land the next day, and not only mentioned the pension of thirty crowns, but promised to give a velvet doublet to him who

should be the first discoverer. After this speech he retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on shore, he called to one of the sailors, who, being desired to observe, acknowledged that he plainly saw it, and supposed it to be a candle or torch, belonging to some fisherman or traveller, as it seemed to move, and to vanish and appear by turns. This increased their vigilance and caution, though they still pursued their course, until about two in the morning, when the Pinta, being far a-head, gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor at the distance of two leagues; the pension, however, was given to the admiral, who had before perceived the light. As they were now so near the shore, all the ships lay to, and the people waited for morning with the greatest impatience, in order to feast their eyes with what they had so long and so earnestly wished to behold.

Their hopes, however, were not now disappointed, for day no sooner dawned than they perceived an island about forty-five English miles in length, almost one continued plain, covered with green trees, and inhabited by a number of people, who, being astonished at the sight of the ships, which they at first mistook for living creatures, ran down to the shore. The Spaniards were inflamed by the most eager curiosity to know the particulars of this interesting discovery, and the vessels were no sooner brought to anchor, than the admiral landed in his boat well armed, with the royal standard displayed, attended by the other two captains, in their respective boats, with the particular ensigns of this enterprise.

Immediately on their landing they kneeled on

the shore, gave thanks to God, and, shedding tears of joy, kissed the ground; Columbus then standing up, gave the island, which was called by the natives Guanihani, the name of St. Salvador,* and took possession of it for their catholic majesties. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as admiral and viceroy by the Spaniards, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and insults they had offered him, and joyfully swore to obey him as their majesties representative.

A multitude of the Indians were present at these transactions, and they appearing to be a very simple and quiet people, Columbus distributed amongst them strings of glass beads, red caps, and other things of small value, which they received with transport, and, on his returning to the ship, some of them swam after him, while others followed in canoes, with javelins pointed with fish-bones, spun cotton, parrots, and other things, to barter for such trifles as he had distributed among the rest. Few of these people seemed to be above thirty years of age, they were of a middle stature, well-shaped, and of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, which was generally cut short above their ears, though others had suffered it to grow, and tied it up like the tresses of women. They had open countenances, very regular features, and high foreheads. The bodies of some, and the faces of others, were painted black, white and red, though a few of them had only their noses and eyelids coloured. But all of both sexes were entirely naked; and so little were they acquainted with European arms, that they handled a naked sword

* It is now called Cat-island.

Columbus taking possession of St. Salvadore in America.

Maguire Sculp.

Dublin. Published by J. Christie. 17, Ross Lane.

by the edge, without any suspicion that it was capable of hurting them.

The next morning, being the 13th of October, many of the Indians came to the ships in their canoes, which were made by hollowing the trunk of a tree. Some of these were so small as to hold only one person, and others large enough to contain forty. They were rowed with paddles, and were so light, that, if they happened to be overset, the rowers could easily set them right again, and empty the water with calabashes, or dried gourds, which they carried with them for that purpose.

These Indians had no jewels, nor any kind of metal, except small plates of gold, that hung at their nostrils, which, by their signs, they informed the Spaniards came from the south and south-west, where there were many countries and islands. They were so fond of possessing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that some of them picked up bits of broken earthen-ware, that lay upon the deck, leaped into the sea, and swam ashore with them. They were ready to exchange any thing in their possession for the most insignificant trifles, and some of them gave twenty-five pounds of well spun cotton for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin, not worth a farthing. Not that they considered these things had much intrinsic value; but they seemed to prize them only because they belonged to white men, whom they considered as people descended from heaven, and of whom they desired to keep some memorial.

On the 14th of October the admiral coasted the island in his boat towards the north-west, until he discovered a large bay or harbour, sufficient to contain all the ships of Europe, followed by crowds

of the inhabitants, who expressed their wonder and regard by a variety of gesticulations. At length arriving at a peninsula, he saw several of their houses and plantations, which appeared as pleasant as those of Castile in the month of May. However, finding that this was not the land he was in search of, he took seven of the Indians to serve as interpreters, and returning to his ships, sailed to other islands that were visible from the peninsula.

On the 15th of October, having sailed seven leagues, he arrived at the west end of another island, which he found to be about ten leagues in length, and gave it the name of St. Mary of the Conception; but perceiving that the inhabitants differed but little from those of St. Salvador, and that it produced nothing worth notice, he continued his course westward, and anchored upon the coast of another larger island, which extended north-west and south-west above twenty-eight leagues. Before he reached this agreeable spot, which he named Fernanda, he took up an Indian, whom he found at sea in a small canoe, furnished with a piece of their bread, a calabash filled with water, and a little earth resembling vermillion, which was used by those people in painting their bodies. This Indian had also a small basket, in which was contained a string of glass beads, and two small pieces of Portuguese money, from which it appeared that he was bound from St. Salvador to Fernanda, with the strange news of the admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long, he was weary with paddling, and desired to be taken on board. Columbus treated him courteously, gave him bread and honey to eat, made him drink wine, and on setting him on shore gave him some toys, in order

that, by his favourable report, he might prepossess the natives of Fernanda in favour of the Spaniards. The success answered the admiral's expectation; for the islanders, on hearing the favourable account given by the Indian, came in their canoes to barter with the same sort of commodities which were found at St. Salvador; but they appeared to have more sagacity, and made more advantageous bargains. The women wore a kind of cotton cloth round their middle. Their houses were built like tents, but had scarcely any furniture; and the beds in which they lay were formed of a kind of nets that hung from two posts. Here were some trees, that seemed as if ingrafted, by their bearing leaves or branches of four or five several kinds. There were plenty of fish, of different shapes and colours, with some lizards, snakes, and dogs that could not bark.

Columbus, finding nothing valuable in this island, sailed on the 19th of October to another, to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of her catholic majesty. This island far exceeded the others in beauty and extent. It abounded with rivers, pleasant meadows and groves, and the prospect was diversified with hills, which the rest wanted: the ear was delighted with the songs of birds, which not only hopped from bough to bough, but even flew in such flocks as darkened the air. Near one of the lakes the Spaniards killed an alligator, seven feet long, with their spears, which, though at first they beheld with horror, they afterwards skinned and eat; this animal being esteemed by the Indians as most delicious food.

Columbus was no sooner acquainted with the produce of Isabella, and the manners of its inhabi-

tants, than he set sail with a fair wind for a large country to the south, which was extolled by the Indians, under the name of Cuba, and arrived there on the 28th of October. It exhibited a pleasing variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and from the extent of its coast, and the largeness of its rivers, appeared to be of great consequence.

To obtain some intelligence of the natives, the admiral cast anchor in a broad river, the banks of which were shaded by thick and tall trees, that were, at the same time, adorned with blossoms and fruit entirely unknown in Europe. Soon after their landing they entered two houses, which were deserted by the natives, who, being terrified at the appearance of ships, had fled; upon which the Spaniards re-embarked without touching any of their effects, and continued their course westward, until they arrived at the mouth of another river: but this being larger than the other, Columbus sailed a considerable way up it. The banks were all along inhabited; but here also the natives fled, with all the effects they could carry, to the mountains, which arose to a considerable height, and were covered with lofty trees.

Columbus being sensible, that if the inhabitants should thus continue to avoid him, he should never be able to learn the nature of the island, and being afraid of increasing their terror, by landing a number of men, ordered two Spaniards, attended by an Indian of St. Salvador and another of Cuba, who had boldly ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and to endeavour, by their obliging behaviour, to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed his ship to be careened; on which occasion he observed, that the

only fuel of the country was mastic wood, which grew there in great plenty.

On the 5th of November, the two Spaniards returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his son, and informed the admiral, that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town, consisting of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, which contained about 1000 people; that they were met by the principal persons of the place, who took them by the arms, and led them to the town, where they were allowed a spacious lodging, in which they were seated upon wooden benches, in the form of some strange animals, with their tails lifted up for them to lean upon, and had eyes and ears of gold. The Spaniards being seated on these benches, the Indians sat round them on the ground, and came one by one to kiss the hands and feet of these strangers, imagining they had come from heaven; they, at the same time, treated them with boiled roots, which, in their taste, resembled chestnuts. After the men had thus fulfilled the rites of hospitality, they retired, to make room for the women, who kissed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two Indian attendants, who represented the Spaniards as a humane and generous people.

On their setting out to return to the ship, a great number of the natives proposed to accompany them: this offer they declined, and would accept of none but the cacique or king, and his son, under whose protection they were entertained with great respect at several petty towns; meeting many of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle the fires with which they roasted the roots that

constituted their principal food. In return for these civilities, the two princes were treated by the admiral with great kindness and respect.

In this excursion they saw a variety of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales; but no quadrupeds, except a kind of dog which could not bark. A great part of the land was cultivated, and produced, besides the bread-root, maize or Indian corn, of which the natives made a very well tasted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, which they gathered from trees, that grew without the least care or culture, and of this they made vast quantities of well spun yarn; but had no other use for it, than forming hammocks and short aprons for the women. The Indians afterwards carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ships, where they willingly exchanged a basket full of it for a thong of leather. They had no gold, pearl or spices, but pointed towards the east, where, they intimated, there was a country plentifully stored with them.

In consequence of this information, Columbus resolved to sail to a place which the Indians called Bohio; but, before he left Cuba, he seized twelve of the natives whom he intended to carry to Spain; which seizure was made with such little disturbance, that the husband of one of the women came to the ship in his canoe, and begged that he might be allowed to accompany his wife and children. This instance of affection gave great pleasure to the admiral, who instantly granted his request, and gave orders for their being kindly treated.

On the 12th of November, Columbus, who had before endeavoured to leave the island, but was driven back, steered eastward to the island of

Bohio, but the wind being still contrary, he was obliged to ply two or three days between the islands of Cuba and Isabella. In this interval Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had been informed by some Indians, whom he had concealed in his ship, that Bohio abounded in gold, took advantage of the swiftness of his vessel, and left Columbus in the night, in order to anticipate his success, and engross the treasure of that wealthy island to himself.

Columbus being thus abandoned by one of his consorts, and the weather growing so rough as to render it dangerous for him to keep the sea, he returned to another harbour in Cuba, to which he gave the name of St. Catherine's. While the crews were here employed in taking in wood and water, he accidentally discovered signs of gold on some stones in the river, and up in the country saw mountains covered with tall pines sufficient to furnish masts for the largest ships, and plenty of oaks fit for planks. In his run along the coast, for ten or twelve leagues to the south-east, he discovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was so delighted with the beautiful appearance of the country, that he was even tempted to fix his habitation there for life. Sailing up one of the rivers, he saw a canoe drawn upon land as large as a twelve oar barge, and afterwards perceived in the water another canoe, which, though formed of the trunk of a single tree, was seventy feet long, and capable of containing fifty men.

The admiral having coasted the island for one hundred and six leagues, set sail again for Bohio, which, though it was but at sixteen leagues distance, he was prevented by the currents from reaching till the next day, when he anchored in a port

to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas, from its being the festival of that saint. He found that the harbour was large, deep, extremely safe, and encompassed with a great number of tall trees, which, however, were not in general so large as those of Cuba; but not being able to obtain any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled at his approach, he coasted the island to the northward, till he arrived at a port, which he called the Conception, when observing that the country was very extensive, and in many respects resembled Spain, both in the trees, plants and fishes, he gave it the name of Espaniola or Hispaniola. He here saw a number of the natives, who, upon the landing of the sailors, fled from them with great precipitation; but they having at length taken a young woman, who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose, she was conducted to the admiral, who, presenting her with several trifles, such as small bells and glass toys, civilly dismissed her to the town where she dwelt, sending with her three Spaniards, and the same number of Indians.

The next day eleven men, well armed, went on shore, and travelled four leagues up the country, where they found a town, which consisted of one thousand houses, and though the inhabitants, as usual, fled at their approach, they soon returned, at the persuasion of a St. Salvador Indian, who followed them, and removed their fears by the favourable account he gave of the Spaniards, on whom they gazed with equal astonishment and awe: they even brought them food, and pressed them to stay in the town all night: the Spaniards, however, declined accepting this invitation, and, returning to their ships, told the admiral, that the country was fertile and pleasant, and the people whiter and

handsomer than those they had hitherto seen; that they were courteous and tractable, and had let them know that gold was to be found farther to the eastward.

At this news Columbus immediately set sail, and between Hispaniola and a small island on the north coast, afterwards called Tortuga, he took up, in a very rough sea, an Indian, who was struggling with the waves in a little canoe, and, giving him some presents of small value, set him safe ashore on the coast of Hispaniola. This man informing his countrymen of the manner in which he had been treated, induced them to come on board; but they brought nothing with them of consequence, except some small grains of gold, which hung at their ears and nostrils, of which they showed by signs that there was a greater quantity higher up in the country.

While the Spaniards were on shore the next day, bartering with the cacique or sovereign of that district, for a plate of gold, forty men in a canoe approached from the island of Tortuga, when the cacique perceiving them, sat down with his people on the strand, as a signal that they should not commit hostilities, but notwithstanding this they landed; upon which he arose, and, by his threats, obliged them to re-embark, and then giving a stone to one of the Spanish officers, made a sign for him to throw it at the Tortugans, to show that he would espouse the cause of these strangers against the Indians of the canoe, who, on their seeing this, returned to the island.

On the 18th of December the same cacique came to pay the admiral a visit, carried in state on a palanquin, and attended by two hundred men, though

both he and they were entirely naked. He made no difficulty of going on board Columbus's ship, and, the admiral being at dinner, entered the cabin, attended by two old men, that seemed to be his counsellors, who sat down at his feet. Columbus received him with great civility and respect, and had provisions and wine set before him, which, on tasting, he sent to some of his men who remained on deck. After dinner, during which both he and the two old men spoke but little, he presented the admiral with two thin pieces of gold, and a wrought girdle; in return for these, he received a string of amber beads, which the admiral took from his own neck, a pair of red shoes, a counterpane, and a bottle of orange-flower water, wherewith this prince and his two attendants were so delighted, that they signified to Columbus that the whole island was at his disposal. The admiral then showed him the effigies of Ferdinand and Isabella impressed in a gold medal, which he viewed with admiration, and, indeed, showed signs of astonishment at every thing he saw. In the evening he was, at his own desire, set ashore in the ship's boat, and saluted with a discharge of several guns, the noise whereof filled him with amazement and terror; he was, however, so satisfied with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land, and returned home with the admiral's presents carried with great pomp and ostentation before him.

On the 24th of December Columbus weighed, and sailed to a promontory, afterwards called Punta Santa, where, the weather being calm, he anchored about a league from shore, and retired to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two nights before; his

example was followed by the crew, who, contrary to his repeated orders, had the folly to leave only a boy at the helm. This instance of neglect proved fatal; for about midnight the vessel was carried on a ridge of rocks, before any on board were aware of the danger. The admiral, being the first who was awakened by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, and, perceiving the rocks, ordered the master and three sailors to leap into the boat, and carry out an anchor astern; but, instead of obeying his directions, they rowed to the other ship, in order to preserve their own lives. Upon this Columbus immediately caused the vessel to be lightened, and the masts to be cut away; but all his endeavours were ineffectual, and, the water ebbing, the seams of the ship opened. But while they were in this emergency, the boat returned, the other ship refusing to receive the men who had deserted their duty. The admiral then seeing no hopes of saving his own vessel, took the boat, and going with his men on board the other, the next morning dispatched messengers to inform the cacique of this disaster, and to desire the assistance of the natives in unlading the ship. The cacique, who condoled their misfortunes with tears in his eyes, immediately ordered his people to repair to the wreck in their canoes, and to obey Columbus's directions; and by their assistance all the valuable effects were carried on shore, and deposited in the houses appointed for that purpose.

On the 26th of December, this friendly cacique, whose name was Guacanagari, paid another visit to the admiral, whose loss he lamented with many expressions of sorrow; made him several presents, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards were of

gold, promised to send for a great quantity of that metal, from a place called Cebao. Meanwhile a canoe with Indians from another island, brought plates of gold to exchange them for bells, on which they set a very great value; and the seamen on shore traded with the natives of Hispaniola, who came from the inland parts of the country, and bartered gold for pins and other trifles. Among the rest, an Indian came to the shore, with a piece of gold that weighed four ounces, and holding it in one hand stretched out the other, and a hawk's bell being put into it, let go the gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard.

Columbus being greatly pleased with this island, and the manners of its inhabitants, resolved to settle a colony upon it; and was encouraged to take this step, by many of his men voluntarily offering to settle there: while the cacique Guacanagari, instead of being disposed to take umbrage at their neighbourhood, considered them as valuable allies, who would protect him from the invasion of the Caribbee Indians. In order to show the importance of his friendship, Columbus gave orders, in the presence of this prince, for firing a great gun at the wreck, through which the ball penetrated, and fell into the water on the opposite side, to the great astonishment of the Indians, who believed that their guests knew how to dart the thunder of heaven, and therefore earnestly implored their protection. In compliance with this request, made to him by Guacanagari, Columbus ordered a fort to be built of the timber of the wreck, and, having furnished it with provisions, ammunition, small-arms and cannon, garrisoned it with thirty-six men, under the command of Roderick d'Escovedo, Peter

Gutieres, and James d'Arana, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and good offices of the friendly cacique and his people. Having thus provided the fort with all necessaries, he caused a few houses to be built, named the place the town of Nativity, and resolved to return immediately to Castile, lest some misfortune happening to the only ship he had now under his command, he should be for ever disabled from letting their catholic majesties know the important discoveries he had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions.

When every thing was ready for his departure, he assembled those who chose to be left upon the island, and addressing himself to them, desired them to return thanks to God, for having carried them to such a country, to plant his holy faith; and not to forsake him, their Almighty friend, but, by living like good Christians, to insure his protection; he exhorted them to love and obey their captain; to respect Guacanagari, and to give no offence to any of his people; and, that the opinion of their coming from heaven might be confirmed, they should offer no violence to any of the natives: observing, that it would be for their interest to barter with them fairly, without covetousness; to endeavour to learn their language, which would be of great use; and to gain their friendship, which would render them happy and secure. In return for which, he promised to entreat their majesties to reward them for opening the way to that new world.

He set sail from the port of Nativity on the 4th of January, taking such notice of the land as would enable him to discover the mouth of the harbour

in any future expedition; and sailing to a high mountain, he gave it the name of Monte Christo; but, the wind being contrary, he made but little way. Two days after, he fell in with the Pinta, under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who, going on board, strove to excuse his desertion, by pretending he had lost sight of the admiral in the night, and by alledging other frivolous excuses; but though Columbus plainly saw the fallacy of all these pretences, he chose to disguise his sentiments, rather than run any risk of prejudicing the common cause, by giving rise to a dangerous dissension.

Pinzon had sailed to a river fifteen leagues to the east of the port of Nativity, where he had spent sixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had procured a considerable quantity; one-half whereof he distributed amongst his crew, in order to obtain popularity, and to gain their consent to keep the remainder for his own use. He afterwards anchored near Monte Christo, the wind not permitting him to proceed farther, and then he sailed in his boat up a river to the southwest of the mount, where discovering some gold dust among the sand, he called it the Golden River.

On the 13th of January, being near the cape called Enamorado, Columbus sent his boat on shore, where there stood some Indians, with all the signs of consternation and great fierceness in their countenances. They were armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons, and made a show of opposition; but by the mediation of a St. Salvador Indian, they were brought to a kind of conference. One of them ventured on board the admiral's ship, but appeared extremely savage both in speech and

aspect, which was smutted with charcoal. This man, having answered several questions, partly by signs, and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, was feasted, and then set ashore with presents of glass beads, and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring gold in exchange for such trifles.

At the place where he was set on shore, there were fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrots' feathers, who, being armed with bows and arrows, refused to treat with the Spaniards, notwithstanding the persuasions of their countryman, but, on the contrary, treated them with scorn, and even began to commit hostilities. The Spaniards, who were but seven in number, seeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and, boldly charging them, shot one with an arrow, and wounded another with a sword, on which they instantly fled. Columbus was far from being displeased with this skirmish, which, he imagined, would give them such a high opinion of the bravery of his men, as would prevent their making any attempts to the prejudice of the settlement at the Nativity.

On the 16th of January, the admiral set sail with his two ships for Spain, but after having enjoyed a favourable gale until they were within two hundred and sixty-three leagues to the westward of Ferro, they were overtaken by such a tempest on the 14th of February, that the sea running mountains high, they were unable to work their vessels, and were tossed about at the mercy of the waves. During this storm the two ships were separated, when the seamen in each, concluding that those in the other had perished, betook themselves to acts

of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadaloupe; but the storm still increasing, the whole crew of the admiral's ship joined in a vow to walk barefoot, and in their shirts, to some church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in the first Christian country on which they should land. They had great scarcity of provisions, and their ship wanting ballast, was in danger of being overset. To remedy this last inconvenience, Columbus ordered his casks to be filled with sea-water; and, that his discovery might have some chance of being known, in case he and his men perished, he wrote a brief account of it upon two skins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil-cloths covered with wax, and having inclosed them in two separate casks, had them thrown into the sea. This must be allowed to have been an extraordinary instance both of his prudence and fortitude.

On the 15th of February, at which time the storm still continued, one of the sailors discovered land, which the pilot judged to be the Rock of Lisbon, though the admiral imagined it to be one of the Azores; and soon after they discovered St. Mary, another of the Azore islands; where, with great difficulty, they cast anchor four days after. The admiral being lame in both his legs, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone, many of the inhabitants came on board with fresh provisions, and compliments from the governor, expressing their amazement at the success of the expedition, and seeming to rejoice at Columbus's discovery. They were also surprised to see that they had outlived the storm; and they let the sailors know, that there was in that neighbourhood a her-

mitage, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the admiral and his crew resolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot. To fulfil this penance, he sent his boat on shore with one half of the company, with orders to return immediately, that the rest might succeed them in the same kind of devotion, but the first company had no sooner undressed themselves, and began their procession, than they were attacked and made prisoners by the governor, who lay in ambush with some of his people for that purpose.

Columbus having in vain waited from day-break until noon, for the return of the boat, began to suspect foul play, and not being able to discover the hermitage, he sailed round a point, by which means he obtained a full view of it, and perceiving several Portuguese on horseback alight and enter his boat, as he imagined, to attack the vessel, he ordered the sailors to be upon their guard. He hoped that the commander of the men would come on board, in which case he resolved to detain him as a hostage; but the Portuguese not daring to advance beyond a certain distance, he demanded the reason of their committing such an outrage upon his men, who had gone on shore upon the faith of a safe conduct; and let them know, that the king of Portugal would certainly be offended at this act of hostility, committed against the subjects of their catholic majesties, with whom he was in alliance. To this the Portuguese captain answered, that what they had done was by the king's express orders; which giving Columbus reason to imagine, that there was a breach between the two crowns, he called all his people to bear witness to what they heard, and again directed his

discourse to the Portuguese, and swore, that he would never quit his ship until he had seized a hundred Portuguese, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left; but the next day, the wind increasing, he lost his anchors, and was obliged to stand out to sea, towards the island of St. Michael, though not without being exposed to great danger, from his having only three able seamen on board, the rest being landsmen, Indians and boys. The weather being mild, the next day he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21st; and, soon after his arrival, a boat was sent to him, with five men and a notary, who, in the governor's name, desired to know whence the ship came, and whether he had really the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they returned, and caused the Spaniards to be released; for the king of Portugal had sent orders to all his governors, to secure the admiral's person; but as this scheme did not succeed, on account of Columbus's staying on board, it was thought proper to dismiss the prisoners. The admiral, having recovered his men, departed from the island of St. Mary on the 24th of February, with a very favourable wind; but on the 3d of March he was exposed to another tempest, during which his sails were split, and he narrowly escaped being wrecked on the Rock of Lisbon, which they accidentally discovered at midnight; but having weathered it with great difficulty, he was the next day obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, on which he immediately sent an express by land to their catholic majesties, with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, to desire leave to cast

anchor before the city, as he did not think himself safe in his present station.

On the 5th of March, the master of a guard-ship, with a boat filled with armed men, came up to Columbus, and ordered him to give an account of himself to the king's officers, as was customary with all the vessels that entered the river. To this Columbus replied, that he was the admiral of the king of Spain, and would not degrade himself so far as to send the most inconsiderable person on board his ship on such an errand. The Portuguese, finding him resolute, desired to see the king's letter, which being complied with, they returned to their ship, and made a proper report to Alvaro d'Acunha, who soon after came on board Columbus's ship, attended with fifes, drums and trumpets, and congratulated him on his return with many expressions of friendship. The nature of Columbus's voyage was no sooner known at Lisbon, than the people were filled with the utmost curiosity to see the Indians, and to learn the particulars of his amazing discovery; the whole river was, therefore, seen covered with boats filled with people, some of whom praised God for Columbus's success, while others lamented the hard fate of their nation, which had lost such a prize through the incredulity or avarice of their king.

His majesty having received the admiral's letter, gave orders for his being presented with all kinds of refreshments and necessaries gratis; and, at the same time, wrote to him to congratulate him on his happy return, and to let him know, that he desired to see him before he left his dominions. Columbus at first doubted whether he ought to accept this invitation; but considering that Spain and Portugal were at peace, and that he had been already treated

by the king with uncommon respect, he resolved to wait on his Portuguese majesty, who then resided at Val Paraiso, nine leagues from Lisbon: he therefore set out on Saturday the 9th of March, when the king ordered his whole court to go out and meet him. Columbus being conducted into the royal presence, his majesty insisted on his putting on his cap; and, being seated in his presence, he heard, with seeming pleasure, the particulars of the voyage, and offered to supply him with every thing he desired; yet observed, that as Columbus was before in his service, the conquest of right belonged to him; but the admiral gave his reasons for being of a contrary opinion: to which the king replied, that "it was very well, and he did not doubt but that justice would be done."

Columbus having staid all Sunday and part of Monday, took his leave, after his majesty had in vain attempted, by very considerable offers, to re-engage him in his service. On his return, he was attended by many persons of rank; and passing by a monastery in which was the queen, her majesty desired to see him, and received his visit in a respectful manner. The same night a gentleman arrived from the king, to inform him, that if he chose to go to Castile by land, he would accompany him, and provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. This offer he declined with suitable acknowledgments, and setting sail on Wednesday the 13th of March, 1493, arrived on the Friday following at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, whence he had departed on the 3d of August in the preceding year.

Columbus was received on his landing by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his

Columbus relateing his discoveries to the King & Queen of Spain.

Maguire Sc.

Dublin, Published by J. Christie 17. Rafs Lane.

success, which it was hoped would greatly redound to the spreading of Christianity, and the advantage of their catholic majesties. Pinzon had already arrived in Galicia, and had resolved to carry in person the agreeable news of the discovery to court, when he received orders which forbade his coming without the admiral under whose command he had been sent on the expedition; and this mortifying disappointment made such an impression upon him, that he immediately fell sick, and, returning to the place of his birth, in a few days after died of grief and vexation.

In the mean time Columbus set out for Seville, on his way to Barcelona, where their majesties then resided, and the roads were crowded with people of all ranks, who flocked to see him and the Indians in his train. He arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, and was received by the whole court and city in the most solemn manner. The streets could not contain the multitudes that pressed to see him, with the Indians and curiosities he brought, which were carried uncovered. Their majesties, to do him honour, ordered the royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves with prince John, under a canopy of cloth of gold. The admiral was introduced by several gentlemen, and, on his approaching the throne, the king rose up, and gave him his hand to kiss, when Columbus kneeling, his majesty desired him to rise, ordered a chair to be brought him, and made him sit by his side, Columbus then gave an account of his voyage, his discoveries, and his hopes of finding still more extensive and important countries; showed them the Indians, as they appeared in their native countries, and gave them a specimen of every thing

he had brought from the new world. When he had done speaking, their majesties rose, and kneeling down with their hands lifted up, and with tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, which was immediately followed by the choristers of the chapel, singing the Te Deum.

In short, Columbus was treated as a grandee of the first rank, who had performed the most important services for the country, and when the king rode about Barcelona, he would have him constantly by his side; an honour which had been conferred upon none but princes of the blood. He was also gratified with new patents, which confirmed and enlarged the privileges he had before obtained. The more his discoveries were canvassed by the council, the more important they appeared, and therefore their catholic majesties not only agreed that he should continue them, but dispatched an ambassador to pope Alexander VI. to desire him to exert his apostolic authority in their favour, and to grant them an exclusive title to the countries that had been, or should be discovered. The pope complied with this request, and drawing a line from pole to pole, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward from the Azores, or from the Cape de Verd islands, bestowed on their catholic majesties the dominions of all sovereigns and states in that extensive part of the globe.

CHAP. II.

Columbus's second voyage. He sails with a more numerous fleet, arrives at the Caribbee Islands, and discovers Dominica, Marigalante and Guadaloupe. He thence proceeds to several other islands, and, arriving at Hispaniola, finds the colony ruined. After re-establishing the colony, he discovers Jamaica; meets with a multitude of islands, which he names the Queen's Garden; steers along the coast of Cuba, and returns to Hispaniola, where he finds every thing in great confusion; but having made new regulations for the security of the settlement, he sails for Spain.

IN a little time such measures were taken for Columbus's second expedition, that seventeen vessels were fitted out for farther discoveries, and the settlement of colonies. The thirst of gold, and the success of the first voyage, drew together such a multitude of volunteers, that a great number was rejected, the admiral resolving to take no more than fifteen hundred persons, amongst whom there were many artificers and labourers.

Columbus having provided all kinds of utensils, with a large stock of trifles most agreeable to the Indians, and having taken on board cows, horses, asses, and other animals for breeding in the new plantations, with the seeds of plants, trees, and all kinds of grain, he sailed from the road of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and stood south-west for the Canary islands. He arrived at the Grand Canaria on the 2d of October, and on the 5th anchored at Gomera, where he took in water, wood and cattle, and in particular eight sows, from which were produced all the swine now in the West Indies.*

* They received the name of West Indies from Columbus's

On the 7th he continued his voyage for the Indies, after having delivered his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened unless the fleet should be separated by stress of weather. They now ran four hundred leagues west of the Canaries, without meeting with any of those weeds which they had seen in their first voyage.

On the 2d of November, Columbus perceived a high mountainous island, which he named Dominica,* from its being discovered on a Sunday. Three other islands were discovered much about the same time, when the people, assembling on the poop, returned thanks to God for their wonderful success, in having sailed near eight hundred leagues in the space of twenty days. The admiral, finding no convenient place for anchoring on the east side of Dominica, stood over to another island, which he called Marigalante, after his own ship, and having landed, he, with the usual solemnity, took possession of it for their catholic majesties, as he had before done with respect to all the other islands he had discovered.

On the 4th of November he sailed to another considerable island, which he named St. Mary of Guadaloupe,† in consequence of a promise he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name. He there perceived a very high rock, which terminated in a point, whence gushed a large torrent of water, which fell with a prodigious noise. Here he landed some men, who

sailing to them by the west, and expecting to find the spices at that time brought from the East by the way of the Red Sea.

* Dominica is now subject to England, but is very little cultivated.

† This is one of the largest of the Caribbee Islands.

went to a town, which, at their approach, was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except some of the children, to whose arms the Spaniards tied a few baubles, as a mark of friendship. They here found geese like those of Europe, a great number of large parrots and other birds, pompions, ananas, or pine-apples, of exquisite taste and flavour: they also found bows and arrows, cotton, and several other things, which they left behind them, in order to give the owners a good opinion of their manners.

The next day the admiral sent two boats on shore, with orders, if possible, to take a few of the natives, from whom he might obtain some important information; and these returned with two young men, who by their signs let him know that they were born in another island, and were taken prisoners by those of Guadaloupe, who were called Caribbees. The boats again going on shore for some of the men they had left, found six women who had fled to them, and desired to be carried on board, which being done, the admiral gave them bells and beads, and then dismissed them, though by their signs they showed an ardent desire to stay; but they were no sooner landed than the Caribbees robbed them of their ornaments in the very sight of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, these poor creatures leapt into the boat, and, by the most expressive gestures, implored protection from the cruelty of the islanders, who, they signified, had kept their husbands in slavery. This information occasioned their being brought to the admiral, whom they gave to understand, that towards the south, there were many islands, and a large continent. Columbus would have immediately left Guadaloupe, had he not been informed, that the cap-

tain of one of his ships had, without his permission, landed with eight men before it was light, and was not yet returned; he therefore sent several of his people on shore with trumpets and muskets, the noise of which might be heard through the woods; and this search proving fruitless, he sent another detachment of forty men, commanded by a captain, with orders to proceed through the country, and make observations on its productions. They found abundance of cotton, some trees, which in taste and smell resembled cinnamon, frankincense, ginger, sanders, aloes and mastic. They likewise saw nightingales, daws, partridges, geese, herons, kites and falcons. While they were thus employed, the stragglers returned of their own accord, when Columbus ordered their captain to be put in irons, and punished the rest by shortening their allowance of provisions. The admiral himself then landing, found great quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, with many human skulls and bones hung up in baskets; and observed that the natives were better accommodated with lodging, provisions, and other necessaries of life, than those of the other islands he had before discovered.

On the 10th of November, the admiral weighed anchor, and sailing with his whole fleet towards the north-west, in search of Hispaniola, passed an island, to which, on account of its height, he gave the name of Montserat; and having passed by St. Mary Redonda, and St. Maria la Antigua,† he discovered several other islands, near one of which he

* This island, which is one of the smallest of the Caribbees, is now subject to the English.

† Now called Antigua. This island, which is twenty miles long, and near as many broad, is also subject to England. Its

cast anchor, and called it St. Martin. His people here seized four men and three children, but as the boat was putting off with them from shore, they met with a canoe in which were four men and one woman, who finding it impossible to escape, put themselves in a posture of defence, when the woman shot an arrow with such force and dexterity, that it passed through a strong target; but the Spaniards, endeavouring to board them, overset the canoe, on which the Indians betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow and arrow in the water, with the same dexterity as if he had been on dry land.

The admiral again setting sail, continued his course west-north-west, leaving to the northward above fifty islands, the largest of which he called St. Ursula, and the others the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He then came to an island to which he gave the name of St. John Baptist, and having anchored in a bay on the west side of it, his men caught several kinds of fish, as skate, soles, pilchards and shads; and also saw falcons, and some shrubs resembling wild vines. Some of the men afterwards landed, when they perceived several houses with a square in their front, from which was a spacious road down to the sea, flanked on both sides with towers made of cane, the tops of which were curiously interwoven with greens, and at the end of the road next the sea was raised a lofty gallery or balcony, capable of containing ten or twelve persons.

On the 21st, the admiral arrived in the bay of

chief produce is sugar; but as it has the misfortune to have no brooks or rivers, the inhabitants save the rain-water in cisterns and reservoirs.

Samana, on the north side of Hispaniola, and immediately sent on shore one of the Indians, a native of that part of the country, whom he had carried into Spain, and who, being converted to the Christian faith, undertook for the submission of all his countrymen.

The admiral, continuing his voyage to the town of the Nativity, was visited at Cape Angel by some Indians, who came on board to barter their commodities for those of the Christians, and, coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his people were sent on shore in a boat, when, to their great surprise, they saw at a small distance the bodies of two men, with a rope about their necks, made of a kind of broom, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood, in the form of a cross; but though they could not discern whether they were Europeans or Indians, they considered this as an ill omen.

The next day, which was the 26th, the admiral sent several persons on shore in different places, when many of the Indians went to them with great confidence and appearance of friendship, and pronounced several Spanish words they had learned from the settlers, which eased the admiral of the apprehensions he had begun to conceive, judging, that they would not have behaved with such freedom and unconcern, had they been conscious of their having injured the men he had left behind him; but the next day put an end to his doubts; for, on his anchoring near the town of the Nativity, some Indians in a canoe came to the fleet, inquiring for the admiral, but refused to come on board until they saw him. From them he learned, that some of the Christians left there died of distempers, and

the rest were separated and gone to other countries; but though Columbus suspected foul play, he concealed his suspicions, and the same evening dismissed the messengers, with a present of baubles made of tin, and other trifles, for the cacique Guacanagari and themselves.

The next morning Columbus landed, when, to his great concern, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation; the houses and forts were burned, and nothing left belonging to the Christians but a few ragged clothes, and things of no value. As he had ordered the Spaniards, at his leaving them, if any thing happened, to throw the gold into a well he had made in the fort, he caused that well to be cleansed; but no gold was to be found there: he soon after found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who seemed to have been dead about a month. However, while he was ruminating on this event with a mind filled with resentment and sorrow, he was visited by the cacique Guacanagari's brother, who came attended by some Indians, that learned to talk a little Spanish, and by whom he was informed, that he had scarcely set sail, when those he had left behind began to quarrel among themselves, every man endeavouring to amass all the gold he could obtain, and to take as many wives from the natives, as his unbounded appetite demanded. That Escovedo and Peter Gutieres, having killed one of the men, named James, had, with nine others, retired with their women to Caunabo, a cacique, who was lord of the mines, and who put them all to death; after which that cacique came, attended by a great number of men, to destroy the town, where there were only James d'Arana and ten of his men, who had remained

with him to guard the fort, the rest having dispersed themselves about the island. Caunabo, who came upon them in the night, instantly set fire to the houses where these eleven Spaniards lived with their women; on which they fled into the sea, where eight of them perished, and the other three were slain on shore, while Guacanagari endeavoured to revenge the Spaniards, by making war on Caunabo, but was put to flight, after his having received a dangerous wound, which confined him to his house, and prevented him waiting on the admiral.

This account perfectly agreed with the intelligence received from some Spaniards, who had been sent up the country, and had visited the wounded cacique at his own house, who greatly desired to see Columbus. The next day, therefore, the admiral paid him a visit, and was received with the utmost cordiality and concern for what had happened. Guacanagari repeated the melancholy story with all the marks of unfeigned sorrow, and, at the same time, showed his own wound, and those of his men, which they had received in defence of the Christians, and which plainly appeared to have been made with wooden swords, and arrows pointed with fish-bones, and not with any European weapons. The compliments of condolence being passed, the cacique presented the admiral with eight strings of small beads, composed of red, green and white stones, a string of gold beads, a crown of the same metal, and three small calabashes full of gold dust, which weighed about thirty-two ounces. In return for these valuable presents, the admiral gave him a variety of baubles, which might be worth about three reals, or twenty-pence. Though the cacique was extremely ill, he insisted on attending his guest

to the fleet, where he was courteously entertained, and much pleased at the sight of the horses, of which the Spaniards had before given him an account. The cacique was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which he was at first unwilling to embrace.

Columbus being disgusted at a spot which had been the scene of so many disasters, and knowing that there were better and more commodious places in the island for a settlement, sailed on the 7th of December with the whole fleet to the eastward, and cast anchor before an Indian town, where he resolved to plant a colony. With this view the people designed for settlers were landed, with provisions and proper utensils, in a plain, where he built a town, to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of the queen. It was conveniently situated near a rock, where a fort might be erected; the harbour was spacious, and at the distance of a bow-shot ran an excellent river, from whence canals might be easily cut through the midst of the place; and beyond it lay an open plain, from which, the Indians said, the mines of Cebao were not far distant.

From the 11th of December to the 12th of March in the following year, 1494, Columbus was employed in completing this new settlement; and having at length regulated the affairs of the town, he dispatched Alonzo de Hojeda, with fifteen men, in search of the gold mines, and on the 2d of February, sent twelve of his ships back to Castile, with a letter of their catholic majesties, in which he gave a very particular account of whatever had happened since his arrival in the West Indies.

Hojeda soon after returned from this expedition,

and informed the admiral, that on the second day after he set out from Isabella, he lay at the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain, and afterwards, at the distance of every league, found caciques, by whom he was hospitably entertained; but continuing his journey, he arrived on the sixth day at the place called the Mines of Cebao, where he saw the Indians picking up gold out of a small river, as they did from many others in the same province. This information was highly agreeable to the admiral, who was just recovered from a fit of sickness occasioned by fatigue; and, on the 12th of March, having caused all the ammunition belonging to the other ships to be put on board his own, he left a strong guard in the two ships and two caravels, and set out from Isabella for Cebao, attended by all the rest of his people, some of whom were on horseback, and others on foot.

The admiral took this precaution of securing the ships, in consequence of his having detected a conspiracy, headed by one Bernardo de Pisa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their catholic majesties. This person had taken the opportunity of the admiral's illness, to tamper with some of the men, who being disappointed of the gold they expected to find without the least trouble, and dissatisfied with the regulations of the new settlements, readily joined with him in the design of revolting from the admiral, and seizing the ships, in order to return to Spain; but this mutiny being discovered, the admiral caused the ringleader to be secured, till he could have an opportunity of sending him home to take his trial.

Columbus, in order to fill the Indians with the greater awe and respect, made his men march in

regular order through the villages, with trumpets sounding, and colours flying. He marched along the banks of the river which runs by Isabella, and crossing another river, lay in a pleasant plain which extended to the foot of a high and craggy rock, which formed a pass. The next day he entered a spacious plain, in which he travelled five leagues, and spent the night near a broad river, which the men crossed on floats and in canoes. This, which he called the River of Canes, falls into the sea at Monte Christo. In his march he passed by many Indian towns, composed of round thatched houses, the doors of which were so low, that no person could enter them without stooping down. The inhabitants seemed to have very little notion of private property; for the Indians, who attended the Spaniards from Isabella, freely entered the houses, and took what they liked, without giving the least offence to the former possessors, while the latter attempted to take what they liked from the Spaniards, and seemed surprised at meeting with a repulse. The way was agreeably diversified with mountains covered with wild vines, and fruit-trees of various sorts.

On the 14th of March, Columbus set forward from the River of Canes, and, at the distance of a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another river, which he named the Golden River, from their gathering here some grains of that metal. Having passed it with some difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where he found that many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and the rest barred their doors against him with canes; and having passed by another river, and several towns, barricadoed against him in the same manner, he

entered the province of Cebao, which, though rough and stony, yielded plenty of grass, and is watered by several rivers, which abound with gold washed down from the mountains; but though this is a very large province, it has few or no trees, except some pine and palm-trees, which grow on the banks of the rivers.

In this country he caused a fort to be erected, in a very strong, though pleasant situation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Spanish adventurers. This fort, which was built of timber and clay, was of sufficient strength to withstand the attack of any number of Indians, and having placed a garrison in it of sixty men, among whom were workmen of several sorts, to finish and repair the works, he set out on his return, and was met by considerable numbers of the natives, who came to sell their provisions, which chiefly consisted of a kind of bread and garlick. On the 29th of March he arrived at his new colony of Isabella, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the seed had not been above two months in the ground; and a wild vine of that country being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes; some wheat, which had been sown in the latter end of January, already produced ears fit to gather; vetches produced a ripe crop of a much larger sort than those they had sown, within twenty-five days; sugar-canes, and the stones of fruit, sprouted out in seven days; vine-branches produced leaves in the same time, and yielded green grapes in twenty-five days. Columbus had therefore great reason to be pleased with the soil and climate, and particularly with the water, which was extremely pure, cool, and palatable.

On the 1st of April, a messenger arrived at Isabella from the new fort, to which he had given the name of the castle of St. Thomas, with advice that the cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack it. Columbus was but little concerned at this news, as he knew that he had nothing to apprehend from the natives, who were under great apprehensions at the sight of his horses; yet as he intended to go to sea with three caravels, in order to discover the continent, he thought it necessary to leave every thing in tranquillity behind him, and therefore sent a reinforcement to the fort of seventy men; part of whom were to be employed in making the road more passable, and in searching for the fords of the rivers. In the mean time he compleated his town, which was supplied with river-water by a canal, and he erected a water-mill, for grinding wheat; but as his people were not accustomed to the food of the natives, and provisions began to fail, he resolved to send the superfluous mouths to Spain. This step he thought himself obliged to take, from his finding that the climate disagreed with many of the people, who were in a sickly and languishing condition. As for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, they were sent to traverse the island, in order to observe its situation, and accustom themselves to the Indian diet. These were commanded by Hojeda, who had orders to march to Cebao, and deliver up the command of these men to Peter Margarite, who was to conduct them round the island, while the former commanded the fort of St. Thomas.

On the 29th of April, Hojeda with his party, which consisted of above four hundred men, left

Isabella, and having crossed the River del Oro, or the Gold River, seized a cacique and his brother, whom he sent in irons to the admiral. This cacique had accommodated the Spaniards with five Indians to carry their clothes over a river, but when in the middle they turned back, and ran away with the baggage, while the cacique, instead of punishing them, converted what they had taken to his own use. Another cacique, who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the service he had done to the Christians, went with the prisoners to Isabella, to intercede in their behalf. Columbus entertained him very kindly; but, to heighten the favour he intended to grant, ordered the cacique and his brother to be put to death; at which the friendly cacique shed a flood of tears, and earnestly begged that their lives might be spared; whereupon the admiral instantly forgave them. These were no sooner released, than a Spaniard, on horseback, who had just arrived from fort St. Thomas, told the admiral, that, in his way through the town belonging to the cacique who had been his prisoner, he had rescued four Spaniards, whom the Indians had taken by way of reprisal, and chased above four hundred persons, who fled at the sight of his horse.

The admiral, being now resolved to discover the continent,* appointed a council to govern the

* It is worthy of remark, that while Columbus was thus settling the affairs of Hispaniola, John Cabot, (a citizen of Venice, who lived at Bristol,) and his son Sebastian, sailed from the last mentioned city on discoveries; saw the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prima Vista, or First-seen; and, on the 24th of June, the same year, 1494, went on shore on an island, which they called St. John's, from its being discovered on St. John's day. John Cabot, on his return to England, reported, that this island was barren; but

island in his absence, consisting of his brother Diego, and five other persons. He then sailed with three ships to Cuba, and running along the south side of that island, entered a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water. While he continued his course along the coast, a great number of Indians came, in their canoes, with presents of bread, water and fish; in return for which he gave them a few bells, beads, and other trifles.

On the 5th of May he reached Jamaica,* where, he had been told, there was great plenty of gold. On casting anchor at that island, he thought it the most beautiful of any he had yet seen; and a surprising multitude of the natives came, in canoes of different sizes, to exchange provisions for toys. The next day he coasted along the island; but sending out his boat to sound the mouths of the harbours, they were soon surrounded with canoes filled with armed men, who seemed resolved to prevent their landing. However, the Spaniards being determined to enter Puerto Bueno, saluted

that the sea near the coast abounded with fish; that the people wore bear-skin clothes, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts and slings; and, upon this report, he obtained a patent for making discoveries; but this gentleman dying soon after, king Henry VII. granted a new patent to his son Sebastian, who set sail on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus began his third voyage. Sebastian sailed as high as 60° 30′ north latitude; proceeding from thence into the south latitude 50°, and from thence ran down to 38° along the coast of the continent of America, which, he expressly says, was afterwards called Florida, where provisions growing short, he sailed back, touched at Newfoundland, and returned to England.

* The reader will find an accurate description of the present state of Jamaica, in our account of the discoveries and settlements of the English.

them with such a flight of arrows, that, several of them being wounded, the rest instantly retired. In that port the admiral repaired his ships, and afterwards sailed back to Cuba, with a firm resolution to know whether it was an island or a continent. The same day a young Indian of Jamaica, coming on board, begged to accompany Columbus to Spain, and though many of his kindred intreated him, with tears in their eyes, to return, he persisted in his resolution, and the admiral gave orders that he should be treated with the utmost civility.

On the 15th he reached the point of Cuba, which he named Cabo de Santo Cruz, or Cape Holy Cross; but, as he coasted along, was overtaken by a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, while dangerously entangled amongst the currents and flats, which hindered him from taking in his sails. He found the sea, to the north and north-west of that island, covered with a prodigious number of small, low and sandy islands, some of which scarcely appeared above the surface of the water, and consequently rendered the navigation very hazardous. However, the nearer they sailed to Cuba, the higher and pleasanter these little islands appeared; and, it being a matter of difficulty, and of no advantage, to give a name to each of them, he stiled them all, in general, the Queen's Garden. The next day these islands seemed to multiply on all sides, so that they reckoned one hundred and sixty of them, parted from each other by navigable channels, through which the ships sailed. In some of them they saw a great number of cranes, that were as red as scarlet, abundance of turtles, and an infinite number of small singing birds; and, what appeared still more extraordinary, the air was as sweet as if

it had been impregnated with the richest perfumes.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed in an island somewhat bigger than the rest; which he called St. Mary's; but, entering a town, all the inhabitants fled; when the Spaniards found nothing but fish in their houses, which was all the food those people lived upon, and some dogs, resembling mastiffs, that lived on the same food. He then directed his course north-east, where he was still bewildered by an astonishing number of flats and islands; and, notwithstanding all his precautions, the ship was often aground, which obliged him to relinquish his design of sailing east about.

On the 13th of June, Columbus, perceiving that the coast of Cuba ran far west, and that there would be the greatest difficulty in sailing that way, resolved to return to the town he had built at Hispaniola; but, being in want of wood and water, he anchored at Evangelista, an island of about thirty leagues in compass, and having provided the ships with what they wanted, directed his course to the south; but after having sailed a few leagues through a channel which seemed to be the clearest, found himself embayed, and nearly destitute of provisions. However, having returned as he entered, he sailed towards some islands to the north-west, near which the sea seemed to be of different colours, owing, in all probability, to the shallow water, and the nature of the bottom seen through it. Soon after his ship ran aground so fast, that she could not be got off without great difficulty and danger; but this was at last effected, and, after many difficulties, he escaped from these shoals and islands, and arrived again at Cuba.

On the 7th of July, landing to hear mass, he was

visited by an old cacique, who appeared very attentive, and afterwards signified his belief of the existence of a Supreme Being, who rewards virtue and punishes vice in a future state.

On the 16th of July, as Columbus was steering towards Cape Cruz, in the island of Cuba, he was surprised with such a violent storm, that the ships were almost overset before the sails could be furled, and they shipped so much water, that the men were scarcely able to keep them clear by pumping; for his men were rendered extremely weak by fatigue and want of provisions, their allowance being only a pound of biscuit, and half a pint of wine a day, unless they happened to catch fish. This allowance the admiral himself did not exceed. However, at his arrival at Cape Cruz, he was civilly entertained by the Indians, who supplied him with bread of grated roots, plenty of fish, and great quantities of delicious fruit.

Columbus now stood over to Jamaica, and, coasting along to the westward, found that part of the island full of excellent harbours, and abounding with inhabitants. He then made the south side of Hispaniola, where having lost sight of two of the ships that were under his command, he cast anchor at a small island. Here the seamen killed eight seals, that lay asleep on the shore, and took great numbers of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccustomed to the human species, stood still while they were knocked down with staves.

Six days after, the admiral, being joined by the ships that were missing, proceeded on his voyage, and coasted along Hispaniola, which exhibited the prospect of a delightful plain, extending a mile from the sea, and so populous, that, for a league

together, it seemed to be one continued town, in the neighbourhood of which was a lake five leagues in length. Here the natives came on board in their canoes, and told the admiral, that they had been visited by some Spaniards from Isabella, where all was well; when, being greatly pleased with this information, he immediately dispatched nine men across the island, with the news of his safe return, while he and his ship continued sailing along the coast to the eastward. In this course he sent the boats ashore for water, near a great town, from which the Indians came to oppose their landing, with boats and poisoned arrows. But, as soon as the boats reached the shore, they civilly laid down their arms, asked for the admiral, and carried him provisions. Near this place they saw a large fish of the size of a middling whale. It bore its head, which was of the size of a pipe or butt, above water; and had a long tail like that of a tunny-fish, and two large fins on the sides. From this, and other concurring circumstances, the admiral prognosticated a change of weather; and seeking some place where he might ride secure, cast anchor under a little island, called, by the Spaniards, Saona. He then observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest that lasted several days, during which he was under the greatest apprehensions on account of the other vessels which could not get in. However, they weathered the storm, and joined the admiral, who continued his voyage, but was soon after seized with a lethargy, which deprived him of his senses and memory. On this account it was agreed to sail directly to Isabella, where they arrived on the 29th of September. The admiral, on his landing, soon recovered

his health, though his weakness lasted several months.

Columbus, on his arrival, found his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, and perceived that the natives had taken up arms against the Spaniards. The admiral's joy was extreme at the sight of Bartholomew, who, returning to Spain from the court of England, where all his demands were granted, had been informed of his brother Christopher's success, by Charles, king of France, who presented him with one hundred crowns to defray the expence of his journey. Upon this he made all the haste he could to overtake the admiral in Spain; but before his arrival at Seville, Christopher had sailed on his second voyage; however, waiting on their catholic majesties, he was received with honour, and ordered to sail with three ships to the West Indies, to carry provisions to his brother, where he arrived while the admiral was gone upon the discovery of Cuba.

Christopher Columbus now gave his brother Bartholomew the title of governor of the Indies, which their catholic majesties very much resented, alledging that he had no power to grant so high an office; but this difference was at length compromised, and his place confirmed under the title of adelantado, or lord-lieutenant of the Indies.

Though Christopher Columbus rejoiced at having the company and assistance of his brother, he was immediately involved in great trouble and vexation, by the misconduct of Peter Margarite, who, instead of obeying his orders, by traversing the island with three hundred and sixty foot and fourteen horse, which had been left under his command, had encamped in a large plain at ten leagues dis-

tance from Isabella, from whence he dispatched the most insolent letters to the council; but finding at length that he was unable to obtain the supreme command, and dreading the return of the admiral, who might punish him for his presumption, he, together with father Boyle, who had been sent to convert the Indians, embarked on board one of the three ships that brought over Bartholomew, and with others of his party returned to Spain, without assigning any reason for his departure, or disposing of the men under his command; on which they dispersed themselves through the country, robbed the natives of their women and effects, and committed such outrages, as not only alienated the affection of the Indians from the Spaniards, but induced them to lay schemes of revenge. A cacique, who had a large town, attacking some small straggling parties, killed ten of the Spaniards, and set fire to a house in which eleven of them were sick. Six of the Spaniards were killed in other parts of the island, and much greater numbers would have perished, had it not been for the admiral's return. The Indians, indeed, might have easily shaken off the Spanish yoke, had they but united in their own defence; for there were four principal caciques or kings, each of whom had seventy or eighty petty lords under his subjection, who were obliged, when called upon, to assist in the wars.

Columbus was very uneasy at finding that the christians, by their vices, had rendered themselves hated by the Indians, who could not bear their insolence and barbarity. Guacanagari, indeed, continued a firm friend to the Spaniards, and visiting the admiral at his return, declared, that so far from joining with his enemies, he had protected

and maintained a hundred of his people; by which means he had incurred the displeasure of the other caciques: Bohechico had killed one of his women, and another of them had been carried off by Caunabo; he therefore desired Columbus's assistance to recover the one, and to revenge the death of the other. This the admiral readily promised, and some of the natives, who had murdered his men, being punished with death, and others sent into Spain, Columbus and Guacanagari set out from Isabella, to prosecute the war against the Indians, who were assembled to the number of one hundred thousand, while Columbus's forces consisted only of 200 foot, 20 horse, 20 wolf-dogs, and a body of Indians, led by the faithful Guacanagari.

Columbus being in sight of the enemy on the second day of his march, divided the little army under his command into two bodies; one of which he gave to his brother Bartholomew, that by attacking the enemy in two places at once, he might increase their terror and confusion. The Indians were immediately thrown into disorder by the discharge of the muskets and cross-bows, when the Spaniards rushing upon them with their horses and dogs, so terrified them, that they were soon routed, many slain, and a great number taken prisoners, among whom was Caunabo, with all his wives and children, who confessed, that he had before killed twenty christians at the town of the Nativity, and that he intended to have acted in the same manner at Isabella. This confession, together with his being taken in arms, induced the admiral to send him and his whole family to Spain, where they might be treated as was most agreeable to their catholic majesties.

Columbus with 200 Foot 20 Horse, and 20 Wolf Dogs, assisted by a body of the Islanders defeats 100 000 Indians.

Magnus Sculp.

Dublin Published by J. Christie 17 Ross Lane.

This victory, and the captivity of Caunabo, so much intimidated the Indians, that, within the space of a year, Columbus, without any other engagement, reduced the whole island to obedience, and imposed a quarterly tribute to be paid the king and queen of Spain; every inhabitant of Cebao being taxed at a certain quantity of gold, and the rest at twenty-five pounds of cotton a head. Things being thus settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the natives became so quiet and pacific, that a single Spaniard might travel in safety over the whole island, and every where meet with a hospitable and friendly reception. However, the diseases of the climate, and change of diet, had reduced the colony of Isabella to less than one-third of the number that first settled there.

The Spaniards, by conversing with the natives, now became better acquainted with their manners and customs, and learned, among other things, that the islands produced ebony, cedar, long pepper, ginger, frankincense, a great number of mulberry-trees, and copper.

In regard to religion, every cacique had a detached temple set apart for the service of certain wooden idols, called cemies, before which they performed several ceremonies, and prayed with great devotion. In each of these temples was a round table, on which lay a certain kind of powder, which, being laid on the head of the idol, the devotee snuffed it up through a hollow cane, which consisted of two branches, at the same time repeating a kind of jargon, which seemed altogether unintelligible, and, by this powder, he was immediately intoxicated. These idols had different names, and some were in much higher reputation

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than others, so that a cemi of character was frequently stolen. The Indians carefully concealed these ceremonies from the christians, whom they would not suffer to enter the place of their devotions. However, some Spaniards once rushed into a temple, at which the idol began to cry aloud in the Indian tongue: the Spaniards, however, soon comprehended, and discovered the trick by kicking it down, when they perceived that it was supplied with a trunk, the farther end of which reached to a dark corner of the apartment, where a man lay concealed among boughs and leaves, and spoke what was dictated by the cacique; who, now finding himself detected, earnestly intreated the Spaniards not to communicate the discovery to his subjects, as it would render it impossible for him to keep them in obedience.

Most of these princes had also three stones, which both they and their people devoutly worshipped; one of which, they said, presided over the corn and other grain, the other affected women in childbirth, and the third had an influence on the weather.

When a sick Indian was deemed past recovery, he was strangled, by order of the cacique, and was either burned, buried or embalmed, at the pleasure of his relations. Some, on being embowelled and dried, were laid in hammocks, with bread and water at their heads, and others deposited in a cave, furnished with the same kind of provisions. It is observable, that Caunabo being questioned about a future state, said, that after death he should go to a certain vale, where he should find his parents and predecessors, and eat, drink, and enjoy all sensual pleasures in the highest perfection.

But to return to Don Pedro Margarite and father Boyle, who, after having thrown the island into confusion, had, as has been already mentioned, deserted their posts and returned to Spain. These persons united in speaking ill of the Indies, and misrepresented every action of Columbus; their statements were also strengthened by letters, written by some of the malecontents, who had remained. Their catholic majesties thereupon sent John Aguado, groom of the king's bed-chamber, with four ships laden with necessaries for the relief of the settlement, and instructions to observe what was doing in the island.

Aguado having arrived at Isabella while the admiral was in a distant province, immediately commenced an investigation of the state of the colony; interposed in its government, reproved the admiral's ministers, and some time after followed Columbus, attended by a body of horse and foot. Columbus, having received intelligence of these proceedings, returned to Isabella, and was received by Aguado with the greatest disrespect. The people, thus encouraged, complained of Columbus, that he had limited their provisions to a daily allowance, out of the king's stores, of a porringer of wheat, and a slice of rusty bacon or rotten cheese, with a few beans or Spanish peas; and that they were also compelled to work at the fortifications, the admiral's own house, and other structures. These complaints were favourably received, and Aguado promised that they should be laid before their catholic majesties.

Columbus, observing the presumption of Aguado, and that his conduct had been misrepresented at court, where he had no other support than his own

merit, resolved to appear before their majesties, in order to justify his own conduct, and make them acquainted with the further discoveries he had made. Before his departure, he ordered several new forts to be built; and, being informed by some of the caciques, that there were gold mines on the south side of the island, he sent several persons, under the guidance of the natives, who, advancing into the most southern province, found gold in all the brooks, in such abundance, that one labourer, in a day, could get above three pesos.

Columbus having settled the affairs of the island, and appointed his brother Bartholomew his lieutenant, went on board one of the caravels, and John Aguado in the other, and, taking with him two hundred and twenty-five Spaniards, who wanted to return, with thirty Indians, sailed from Isabella on the 10th of March, 1496. He continued his course until the 6th of April, but meeting only with contrary winds, and finding his provisions falling short, and his men discouraged, he stood off towards the Caribbee Islands, and, on the 10th of April, anchored at Guadaloupe, where many women came with bows and arrows to hinder their landing; but, as the sea ran very high, the boats were not able to reach the shore; upon which he ordered two Indian women to swim to it, and tell the islanders that they wanted nothing but provisions, for which they would give them a valuable consideration.

These female warriors no sooner understood the demand of the Spaniards, than they directed them to sail to the other side of the island, where they could be supplied by their husbands. But, on their arrival there, a great number of people came down to the shore, and discharged their arrows at the

boats; but, perceiving that the Spaniards rowed towards the land, retired, and formed an ambuscade in the nearest woods, whence they were easily driven by the firing of guns. Their houses and effects being abandoned, were pillaged by the Spaniards, who, being acquainted with the method of making bread, went to work, and made a sufficient quantity of it to supply their wants. In these Indian houses, which, contrary to the practice of the other islands, were square, they found large parrots, honey, wax and iron. While many of the people were employed in baking bread, the admiral sent forty men to obtain some intelligence of the country, and the next day they returned with ten women and three boys, amongst whom was the wife of a cacique, whom a man born in the Canaries had much difficulty to overtake, which he could not have done, had she not, on seeing him alone, turned back, threw him on the ground, and would have strangled him, had not others came to his assistance. These women swathed their legs with a piece of cotton from the ancle to the knee, and wore their hair long and flowing upon their shoulders; but no other parts of their bodies were covered.

Columbus, having provided his ships with a supply of wood and water, set sail from Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, after having made some presents to all the inhabitants they had in their possession, and set them on shore, except the chief and her daughter, who chose to go to Spain with Caunabo, who was a native of the Caribbees, though a cacique of Hispaniola.

On the 20th of May, when the ships were about one hundred leagues west of the Azores, their provisions began to fail, on which each man was allowed

only six ounces of bread, and something less than a pint of water a day; and though there were eight or nine pilots in these two sloops, yet none of them knew where they were. The scarcity on board soon after became so great, that many of the men proposed to eat the Indians, while others, to save the little provision that remained, were for throwing them overboard. These cruel expedients were rejected by the admiral, who was obliged to exert all his address and authority for their protection. On the 8th of June, several days after the reckonings of all the pilots had been out, except the admiral's, they were in sight of Odemira, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, which some mistook for the coast of Galicia, while others maintained that they were in the English channel.

The admiral, on his landing, set out for Burgos, where he was favourably received by their catholic majesties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their son with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian. He presented the king and queen with several sorts of spice, various kinds of rich woods, birds of beautiful colours, girdles and masks adorned with gold plates, a large quantity of gold dust, with grains of that metal of different sizes; and had so far improved his former discoveries as to be able to affirm, that there were innumerable islands in these new discovered seas, that had the richest soil, and abounded with the most valuable natural productions.

Columbus having vindicated his own conduct to the satisfaction of their majesties, earnestly solicited to be sent back with supplies to the colony, left both in want of men, and many necessaries; but, notwithstanding the warmth of his solicita-

tions, the court was so dilatory, that ten or twelve months elapsed before he could obtain a supply, which was sent in two ships commanded by Peter Fernandez Coronel. And, after his departure, Columbus continued at court to procure the equipment of such a fleet as was proper for him to conduct to the West Indies. This was, however, long retarded, by the negligence and ill management of the king's officers, and particularly of Don Juan de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who was afterwards created bishop of Burgos, and proved an inveterate enemy to Columbus, whom he at length brought into disgrace.

CHAP. III.

Columbus's third voyage. He steers a new course, passes by the Cape de Verde islands, discovers the isle of Trinidad, and afterwards the continent. He trades with the inhabitants, and returns to Hispaniola. Turbulent state of the colony: Columbus and his brothers sent to Spain in irons.

COLUMBUS at last set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barremeda, on the 30th of May 1498, with six ships laden with provisions and necessaries for the planters in Hispaniola. On the 7th of June he arrived at the island of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water; on the 9th touched at Madeira, where he received other refreshments on board; and, on the 19th reached Gomera, at which place a French ship had taken three Spanish vessels, and stood to sea with them in sight of the squadron. The admiral, on being informed of this capture, ordered three of his ships to give chase; but they had made too much way for the Spanish

ships to come up with them. However, one of the prizes was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards whom the French had left on board; for, clapping their captors under the hatches, they returned with the vessel safe into port.

Columbus sailed from thence to the island of Ferro, and having resolved to send three of his ships to Hispaniola, while he sailed with the rest to the Cape de Verde Islands, and thence to the continent, he appointed John Antonio Columbus, his kinsman, Peter d'Arana, and Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, captains of the ships bound for Hispaniola, with orders that each should command a week in his turn. Having dismissed them near the island of Hiero, on the 27th of June he descried the island of Sal, the first of the Cape de Verde Islands, and passing it, anchored close to a small island to which the lepers in Portugal were sent to be cured, by eating tortoises or turtle, and washing themselves frequently in their blood; for, in the months of June, July and August, abundance of those amphibious animals resort thither from the continent, to lay their eggs in the sand, and are easily caught by turning them on their backs while they are asleep.

On the 30th of June Columbus sailed for the island of St. Jago, where he cast anchor the next day in the evening, and sent ashore to buy cows and bulls, wherewith to stock his plantation in Hispaniola; but finding that he could not obtain them without some difficulty and delay, he was unwilling to stay in so unhealthy a place, and his men beginning to grow sickly, he sailed to the south-west, resolving to continue that course until he should be under the line, and to steer due west,

in search of undiscovered countries. He proceeded in this course, notwithstanding his meeting with violent currents, which set towards the north and north-west, until he arrived within five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was so excessive, that the men could hardly breathe. The admiral, therefore, resolved to steer due west; but, having sailed many days in that course, and, judging that the Caribbee Islands lay to the north, he resolved to sail directly for Hispaniola.

Columbus therefore stood to the northward, and, one day about noon, land was discovered from the mast-head, that had the appearance of three mountains. This island the admiral distinguished by the name of La Trinidad, or Trinity; and, sailing due west, he anchored five leagues beyond a point, which he called Punta de la Galera, from a rock which at a distance resembled a galley under sail; but finding no convenience for taking in water, he sailed farther west, and cast anchor at another point. He there took in water, without seeing any houses or people, though in coasting along he had left several towns behind him. The same day, the 1st of August, they discovered the continent of America; but Columbus, mistaking it for an island, gave it the name of Isla Santa.

Columbus now proceeded to a more westerly point of the island of Trinidad, which he named Punta del Arenal, or Sandy Point, where landing with his men, in order to obtain refreshments, a cacique of the island came to him, and observing that he wore a cap of crimson velvet, not only paid him great respect, but took off a circle of gold he had on his head, and put it on the admiral's, and with the

other hand took off the admiral's cap, with which he was greatly pleased, and put it on his own head. The same day, when the ship's company returned aboard, a large canoe, carrying 25 men, approached the ship from the eastward; at a considerable distance, however, the Indians gave over rowing, and called aloud. As what they said could not be understood, the admiral attempted to allure them on board, by giving them little brass basons, looking-glasses, and other glittering toys; but this proving ineffectual, Columbus, thinking to please them, ordered one of the men to ascend the poop, and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. This, however, had a quite contrary effect, for they considered it to be a signal of war, and, quitting their oars, let fly their arrows. The admiral then ordered the music to cease, and two cross-bows to be discharged; whereupon the Indians immediately dropt their bows, and ran in close under the stern of one of the caravels, the pilot of which went down into the canoe, and giving one, who seemed to be a principal person, a red cap, they made signs to him to go ashore, intimating that they would give him such things as they had. These people were whiter than the Indians of the other islands, and they had agreeable countenances; their hair was long and straight; about their heads they tied a piece of cotton cloth, curiously wrought, of several colours, and another about their waists.

Columbus was here somewhat surprised, that, though near the equinoctial, he every morning felt the cold, notwithstanding its being in the dog-days; he also observed, that the rivers ran with greater rapidity than that of Seville; that the sea,

at high-water, flowed above 48 paces up the shore, as it did at St. Lucar; and that the current set with such strength between the islands of Trinidad and Santa, which were only a league asunder, that it resembled a rapid river. The Spaniards found that the fruit, trees, soil and climate, were the same as in Hispaniola. They saw parrots, some of a light green, others whitish, and others intermixed with red and yellow. They caught also great quantities of fish, and very large oysters.

The ships having taken in water at Punta del Arenal, Columbus proceeded to a point on the north-west of what he until then called Isla Santa, which he thought to be extraordinary high land, as indeed it is; and this, which is a part of the continent, near the vast ridge of mountains called the Andes, he afterwards called Paria.

Columbus now proceeded to another mouth or channel, which he called Bocca della Sierpe, or the Serpent's Mouth, from the danger of the place; for anchoring near a rock, the sea ran so furiously to the northward, that it resembled the mouth of a great river, the stream of which increasing with a hideous noise, met with another current from the gulf of Paria, and swelled the sea with terrible roaring, to the astonishment and consternation of the Spaniards, who expected to be overwhelmed. However, they suffered no other damage than one of the ships dragging her anchor. This danger being past, the admiral sailed westward along the coast of Paria, discovering several good harbours and rivers; and going ashore, saw many monkeys, and found plantanes, and other fruit, like those of the islands.

On the 6th of August they sailed five leagues

farther down, between the coast and the Isle of Trinidad, where, dropping anchor, three men came in a canoe, and being carried to the admiral, were treated with great civility, presented with toys, and set on shore at a place where a number of the Indians were assembled; who no sooner understood the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, than they came in their canoes to barter with the same things that had been bought by the Spaniards at the islands. They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another that was green, made of fruit and maize. The men covered their heads and waists with well woven cotton of different colours; but the women here, as well as in the Isle of Trinidad, were entirely naked. They seemed, in general, to be more civilized and tractable than the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and were particularly fond of brass trinkets and bells; but having nothing of value, except a few inconsiderable plates of gold that hung about their necks, Columbus ordered six of them to be taken on board, and then continuing his course, saw a fine country well peopled, and a town, which for its beauty he called the Gardens, where he anchored, and many resorted to the ships with wrought cloths on their heads, and some of them with plates of gold about their necks. The Indians on board said that there was plenty of that metal in those parts, and showed how they gathered it. As they sailed farther they were still visited in more canoes, in which all the people wore gold collars, with beads of various sorts; and one Indian in particular had a single grain of gold as big as an apple. The women wore strings of beads about their arms, some of which were very fine pearls; these they signified were found in oysters to the

westward of Paria; and the admiral, having purchased some of these for a present to their catholic majesties, sent the boats to make farther inquiry about that valuable commodity; but though the sailors had no design to land, two of the Indian chiefs civilly constrained them to it, and conducted them to a house, where they were kindly entertained with bread, fruit of several sorts, the white liquor before mentioned, and another of a red colour and good taste; the men all the time keeping together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. When they had been thus treated by the eldest, the youngest carried them to another house, and treated them in the same manner. The sailors returned well satisfied to their boats, highly pleased with the people, who were whiter than any other of the Indians, and of a very good stature; but what appeared to the admiral as very extraordinary, was, the country appearing cool and delightful, notwithstanding its being so near the equinoctial.

Columbus still continuing his course, found that the water grew more and more shallow, and therefore anchoring upon the coast, he sent the smallest caravel to discover whether there was an outlet to the westward among what appeared to be islands, but she returned the next day with a report, that what seemed islands was one continued continent; so that standing back to the eastward, he repassed the streights called the Dragon's Mouth, between Paria and Trinidad Island, but not without great difficulty and danger from the boisterous currents. He now sailed westward along the coast of Paria, and after passing by several islands, on the 30th of August entered the harbour of St. Domingo in

Hispaniola, where his brother had built a town which he called by that name, in memory of his father, whose name was Dominick.

Columbus was at this time almost blind with watching, and quite exhausted with fatigue; but he now indulged the hope of tasting the sweets of repose, and enjoying rest and tranquillity. He was, however, grievously disappointed; for he soon found that the whole island was in the utmost confusion. The greater part of those he had left were dead; above one hundred and sixty were miserably infected with the venereal disease, and a great number had rebelled, at the head of whom was Francis Roldan, whom he had appointed alcaid, or chief justice.

It has been already observed, that a considerable time elapsed before Columbus could obtain a supply from their catholic majesties, for the colony of Hispaniola: in this interval, provisions beginning to fail, the Spaniards of that island began to murmur, became dissatisfied with their situation, and even despaired of his return. Roldan, whose office gave him a considerable influence, resolved to take advantage of this spirit of discontent, in order to center the whole power in his own hands. He therefore encouraged the murmurs of the discontented against Bartholomew Columbus, the lieutenant, and his brother Diego, to whose tyranny he imputed all their sufferings. His intrigues were so successful, that the minds of many of the Spaniards were alienated from the brothers of Christopher Columbus, and even made several attempts upon their lives. Roldan, at length pulling off the mask, assembled his men, who amounted to sixty-five, and attempted to seize the town and fort of Con-

ception. But this scheme miscarried, through the vigilance of Ballester, the commander, who obtaining intelligence of the design, communicated it to the lieutenant, from whom he received a reinforcement. This rebellious behaviour obliged Bartholomew to send orders to Roldan to resign his post, and submit to an impartial trial; but he, disdainfully refusing to obey these commands, marched with his mutineers to Isabella, where he there tried in vain to launch a caravel which was upon the stocks, plundered the storehouses and magazines, and obliged Diego Columbus to retire for protection into the fort; after which he seized the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, and took all the beasts of burden to serve his people in their march to the province of Xaragua, where he chose to reside, on account of its being the most pleasant and plentiful part of the island, and its abounding with beautiful women.

Before Roldan set out for his retreat, he resolved to try his strength, and, if possible, take the town of Conception, where he intended to murder the lieutenant, and did not doubt but he should easily subdue his men, who were too fond of an idle and voluptuous life; but Don Bartholomew, who was a man of equal courage and discretion, took such measures, that not one of his people would forsake him, and boldly marching out against Roldan, the latter did not think fit to hazard a battle. Roldan now engaged Guarinoex, a powerful cacique, in his interest; and several Indian lords, who were flattered with the hope of having their tribute remitted, entered into an association, by which it was resolved, that at the full moon the natives should surprise and murder the Spaniards, who, for the

convenience of finding subsistence, lived amongst them in small detached parties. But this project also failed, through the ignorance of the Indians, some of whom being mistaken with respect to the appearance of the moon, fell upon the Christians before the appointed time, and were easily repulsed; by which means the conspiracy was discovered, and the Spaniards put upon their guard.

Roldan, who was greatly mortified at these repeated miscarriages, now retired with his followers to Xaragua, proclaimed himself the protector of the Indians against the oppression of the lieutenant and his brother; and his artful misrepresentations had not only an effect on some of the natives, who refused to pay the tribute, but made an impression on the minds of those Spaniards who still remained under the government of the lieutenant, many of whom were, by the warmth of the climate, disposed to a life of idleness, and were discontented at their having received no supplies from Spain; and, indeed, such a spirit of disaffection was diffused amongst them, that the lieutenant did not dare to punish the guilty for fear of a general revolt.

From these apprehensions he was in some measure relieved, by the arrival of the two ships first sent, in consequence of the admiral's solicitations; for these bringing a reinforcement of men and provisions, with the assurance that the admiral himself would soon follow, the people were encouraged to persevere in their duty. These two ships being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched towards that city, in order to obtain necessaries, and, if possible, seduce some of the new comers; but he was anticipated by the activity of the lieutenant, who

reached the place before he was within six leagues of it, and so effectually guarded the passes, that he could not succeed. Yet as he earnestly wished the admiral to find the island in tranquillity, he sent overtures of accommodation by the commander of these vessels; but Roldàn sent him back with a contemptuous refusal.

While affairs were in this situation, the three ships, which the admiral had detached from the Canary Islands, arrived; but instead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, were driven by the currents as far westward as the province of Xaragua, where they were visited by Roldan and his followers, who seduced many of the people, and prevailed on them to enter into his service. The captains of these three vessels, understanding that Bartholomew Columbus and the alcaid were at variance, agreed that Carvajal, the commander of one of the ships, should stay in Xaragua, and endeavour to produce an accommodation; that John Antonio Columbus, who commanded one of the other vessels, and was kinsman to the admiral, should conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that captain Arana should sail round with the ships. John Antonio Columbus accordingly landed with forty men; but on the second day of his march, all his followers, except six or seven, deserted to the rebels, and with these he was obliged to return on board, after having in vain expostulated with Roldan upon his treacherous conduct.

After a troublesome voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled, and Carvajal's vessel greatly damaged, his ships arrived at St. Domingo, whither the admiral was just returned from the discovery of the continent. His brother had informed him of

Roldan's revolt; at which, being greatly concerned, he caused Roldan to be informed, that he was extremely sorry for the breach that had happened between him and the adelantado, or lieutenant, and was very desirous of healing it; that he should be glad to see him, and would grant him a safe-conduct. At the same time, hearing that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the island, for want of vessels to carry them home, he published a proclamation, granting leave for all that desired it to return to Spain, promising to supply them with provisions and a free passage. Roldan, however, treated all the admiral's advances towards a reconciliation with indignity and insult, boasting, that it was in his power either to support or suppress the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat without the mediation of Carvajal, whom, he said, he knew to be a man of honour and discretion.

As Carvajal was a person of consequence, and had some prudence, Columbus, though he had reason to suspect his fidelity, since he had supplied the rebels with arms while the ships lay at Xaragua, consented to employ him in this negociation. Roldan, however, still refused to treat, and sent an insolent letter to the admiral; but, being at length persuaded to accept of a safe-conduct, and to visit Columbus, made such extravagant proposals, as he could not embrace without exposing himself to contempt. Columbus, therefore, explained his reasons for rejecting them, and proclaimed a free pardon to all who should return to their duty within thirty days; a copy of which, with new overtures of peace, was carried to the rebels by Carvajal; and about the same time Columbus sent five ships to Spain,

with a letter to their majesties, containing a particular account of the colony and its dissensions.

After many disputes, it was at length agreed, that the admiral should deliver to Roldan two good ships, well manned and victualled, for transporting him and his party to Spain; that they should be paid their salaries and wages to the day of their departure, and, that such of their effects should be restored as had been seized by his and the lieutenant's order. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships, but the weather being extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they were ready, and could be brought round to Xaragua. During this interval Roldan changed his mind, and refused to embark; but, expressing a desire to see the affair accommodated, demanded a safe-conduct, in order to treat with Columbus in person. The latter being sensible of the mutinous disposition of his own people, was so solicitous about healing this division, that he not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went round with two caravels to the port of Azua near Xaragua, where he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that fifteen of Roldan's followers should be sent home in the first ships bound for Spain; that lands and houses should be given instead of pay to those who remained; that Roldan should be again appointed perpetual alcaid, and, that an act of general amnesty should be published.

This troublesome affair being thus adjusted, the admiral caused a captain, at the head of a body of men, to march round the island, in order to pacify and reduce the rebellious Indians; and, that no cause of animosity might be left in Hispaniola, he

proposed to take his brother, the lieutenant, with him to Spain; but while he was preparing for the voyage, Alonzo de Hojeda arrived in the island with four ships from a cruize, in which he had pretended to make discoveries, and putting into the port of Yaquimo, not only committed several outrages against the Indians, but by letters began to tamper with some of the Spaniards, who were hardly yet confirmed in their duty. To these he insinuated, that queen Isabella was in a very bad state of health, and, that after her decease the admiral would find no protection at court, but must fall a victim to the hatred of Hojeda's kinsman, the bishop of Burgos, and Columbus's inveterate enemy.

The admiral, being informed of these proceedings, ordered Roldan to march against him, with twenty-one men. This order he obeyed so suddenly, that Hojeda, finding it impossible to escape, went to meet him, excused his landing, under pretence that he was short of provisions, and declared that he had no intentions to disturb the repose of the island, but would soon sail to St. Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. Notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced many of the settlers, by asserting that he and Carvajal had been appointed by their majesties counsellors, as checks upon the admiral; and, that as he had not been so just as to pay them, they should go under his command, and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the Spaniards, who were amazed at Hojeda's presumption, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded; but Roldan marching

a second time against him, he retired to his ship. The alcaid, perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come on shore, in order to arrange the existing differences amicably; and, upon his refusal, offered to go on board. Hojeda, sending his boat well manned, Roldan, with six or seven of his followers, entered it, and, unexpectedly attacking the crew, made themselves masters of it, and returned to land. This stratagem compelled Hojeda to submit, and consent to depart the island.

Soon after another commotion was raised by Ferdinand Guevara, who was in disgrace with the admiral, for being concerned in the late sedition; and was also exasperated against Roldan, for not permitting him to marry the queen of Xaragua's daughter. He entered into a conspiracy with one Adrian de Mozica, and, having engaged many of the Spaniards in his interest, resolved to surprise and murder the alcaid. But Roldan being informed of their proceedings, took his measures so well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and, being ordered by the admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to their trial, in consequence of which Mozica was hanged, some banished, and others confined.

This example had such an effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island; and about this time such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man left the king's pay, and went to dig on his own account, allowing the king one third of all that was found. In this employment they met with such success, that one man would sometimes gather forty ounces in a day, and a lump of pure gold was found, that weighed 196 ducats.

While Columbus was thus exerting all his pru-

dence, and exercising his humanity, in appeasing the troubles of Hispaniola, he little thought that a storm was rising against him at home. The malecontents, who had been sent to Spain, represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the laws and customs of the Spanish nation; oppressive and cruel in his disposition; elated with the dignity to which he had been raised, and so avaricious and unjust, that he not only withheld the pay due to the servants of government, but embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed with still greater bitterness against his brother, the lieutenant, nor did Diego escape the utmost virulence of their censure. These invectives being disseminated by the friends of those who had been the disturbers of the peace of Hispaniola, and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied Columbus's success and reputation, such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the king and queen were daily surrounded by people, demanding justice against that proud and tyrannical foreigner, who had oppressed numbers of the Castilians, and discovered a mischievous country, to be the destruction and grave of the gentry of Spain. Their catholic majesties, complying with these remonstrances, sent an inspector-general to Hispaniola, with power to inquire into the conduct of the admiral, and, if he should be found guilty, to send him home, while the inspector was to remain governor of the island in his room. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, but in very low circumstances, was chosen for this high office; and, being furnished with full powers, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of August, 1500, while the admiral was at the fort and settlement of Conception, with most of the people of

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Columbus and his Brother James laid in Irons by Bovadilla

G. Shea sculp.

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consequence, settling the affairs of that province.

Bovadilla finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, immediately took possession of the admiral's palace, seized his effects, assembled all who were disaffected to the brothers; declared himself governor, dispatched orders to the admiral to repair to him without delay, and to support this summons, sent him the king and queen's letter, which contained no more than that their majesties had sent the bearer to acquaint Columbus with their pleasure, which he was directed to obey, and this order was signed both by the king and queen.

Columbus, immediately on his receiving this letter, set out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla, who, without any legal information, sent him and his brother Diego on board a ship, where they were laid in irons, placed under a strong guard, and entirely excluded from intercourse with any person whatsoever. A process was then begun against them, and all their enemies being admitted as evidences, their depositions were so malicious, incoherent and absurd, that only those who had been determined at all events to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. Bovadilla, however, countenanced the most flagrant perjuries, and even encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners, by blowing horns at the port where the ships lay at anchor, and by reading scandalous libels in the market-place. The lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might probably have rescued him by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to submit quietly to their majesties authority, vested in the person of the new governor. As soon as the admiral was

conveyed on board, Bovadilla began to embezzle the treasure, squander the king's revenue amongst his creatures, oppress and plunder the Indians, countenance the greatest profligacy, and destroy all the prudent regulations established by the admiral.

The captain, Andrew Martin, was no sooner at sea, than, ashamed to see Columbus in this disgraceful situation, he offered to take off his irons; but this Columbus refused, having resolved to keep them ever after as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his services; and, indeed, these fetters he always preserved in his own chamber, and, at his request, they were at length buried in the same coffin with his body.

On the 20th of November, 1500, Columbus acquainted their catholic majesties with his arrival at Cadiz, and imprisonment. Upon which they immediate ordered his release, and invited him to court, expressing their regret for his sufferings, and promising that he should be soon sent again, fully restored to his honours.

On his arrival at Granada, he was favourably received by the king and queen, who appeared to be offended with the conduct of Bovadilla, and promised Columbus ample satisfaction. An inquiry was instituted into the charges preferred against him; which evidently appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted. In order to redress the admiral's grievances, and compel Bovadilla to restore what he had unjustly seized, a new governor was appointed. This commission was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel and revengeful, who afterwards exercised great barbarity

upon the unfortunate natives, and their chiefs.

In order to employ Columbus until the affairs of Hispaniola were settled, and to extend his discoveries, the court determined to equip him for another voyage. The execution of this design being delayed, and the admiral being apprehensive of future disgrace, from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies, requested to be excused from again re-embarking, at the same time intreating their majesties protection. To this request so favourable an answer was returned, accompanied with such advantageous grants and concessions, that Columbus resolved once more to venture his life, in order to perfect his discoveries.

CHAP. IV.

A digression. The discoveries made by other Spaniards, while Columbus was engaged in the third voyage.

BEFORE we proceed to Columbus's next voyage, it is proper that we should give some account of the discoveries, whether real or pretended, that were made before he again set sail for America. Alonzo Hojeda, who has been already mentioned, and Americus Vespucius, obtained from the bishop of Burgos, without the knowledge of the king and queen, the draughts and plans, which, by their majesties order, Columbus had deposited in the hands of that prelate. The licences he gave these gentlemen were also clandestine. They set sail from Cadiz on the 20th of May, 1499, and steered directly in search of the continent, pursuant to the admiral's scheme, which, before this time, he had

actually carried into execution. This was the first voyage made by Americus Vespucius; and though he now only touched at that part of the continent which had been visited by the admiral, yet he impudently pretended to have discovered it. By confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into those parts, he dressed up a plausible story, and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, imposed upon the greatest part of Europe. In Spain, however, he was soon detected; for, pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom, after a voyage of thirteen months spent in discoveries, Hojeda made oath that only five months were spent in the voyage, and that, finding themselves short of provisions, they sailed to Hispaniola for a supply.

It was no sooner known that Alonzo Hojeda and Americus Vespucius had obtained the above licences, than others resolved to make use of the same interest, in order to acquire a share of the riches of the new world; and a company was formed by some of the inhabitants of Seville, the principal of whom was Peter Alonzo Nino of Palos, who was with the admiral when he discovered Paria, and Christopher Guerre of Seville.

Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within fifty leagues of any place discovered by Columbus, set sail soon after Hojeda and Vespucius, discovered land, and arrived at the province of Paria a few days after them; where, finding the Indians behave peaceably, contrary to his instructions he landed and cut Brazil-wood, and then continuing his course, came to what Columbus had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the island of

Margarita and the continent, and which he had visited in 1498.

The people here went on board Nino's ships without any apprehensions, carrying pearl neck-laces, and wearing jewels in their noses and ears, for which the Spaniards gave them hawks-bells, bracelets, rings, and several trifles made of tin. Having thus purchased a considerable quantity of valuable pearls, the Spaniards passed by Coro, near the province now called Venezuela, 130 leagues below Paria and the Dragon's-mouth, and anchored in a bay where they were well received by fifty men, who very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their town: upon which the Spaniards gave them some toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the space of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces.

The next day the Spaniards came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians made signs to them to come on shore; but, being no more than thirty-three men, they durst not venture, and, therefore, by their signs invited the Indians to come on board, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls, which they freely exchanged for toys. The Spaniards, being thus convinced of their sincerity, landed, and staid twenty days on shore, during which they were courteously entertained with venison, rabbits, geese, ducks, parrots, fish, and bread made of maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs; that they had earthen jars, dishes, and other vessels of several shapes; and, that in their pearl neck-laces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They asked by signs where that metal was gathered, and were

answered in the same manner, that it was got six days journey from thence, at a place called Curiana Cauchcito.

The Spaniards therefore sailed thither, and found that the people were very tractable; for they came on board in their canoes without the least jealousy, and bartered with them for wrought and unwrought gold, though they would not part with their pearls. They also gave them some monkeys, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but, as they approached the shore, above 5000 of the natives, armed with bows and arrows, had assembled on the beach, to oppose their landing. Every attempt to appease them proving fruitless, the Spaniards returned to Curiana, where they were received with the same satisfaction as before; the natives now trading with them for pins and needles, which the Spaniards showed them the use of. The Indians were highly pleased, thinking they had made very advantageous bargains with the Spaniards, who carried away above 1,200 ounces of pearls, some of which were very beautiful, and as large as small hazle-nuts. The Spaniards were now so well satisfied with the success of their voyage, that they resolved to return home; and arrived in Galicia on the 6th of February, 1500, two months after they left Curiana, when Nino and Christopher Guerre, who shared in the expence and profits of the voyage, were accused before the governor, by their own ship's crew, of having defrauded the king of his duty, which was the fifth part.

The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage, promoted the spirit of discovery,

more especially among such as knew the proposals made by Columbus, or had served under him in his first two voyages. Of these none was so capable of prosecuting them as Vincent Yanez Pinzon, of whom we have already spoken. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out, at his own expence, four stout ships, with which he sailed to the Cape de Verde islands, where he took in refreshments, and steered from St. Jago, about the year 1500, first standing to the south and then to the west, and was the first subject of the crown of Castile and Leon, that crossed the equinoctial.

But he had hardly crossed the line, when he met with a dreadful storm, in which all on board expected to perish: however, having run 240 leagues further to the westward, on the 26th of February land was discovered, which Yanez called Cabo de Consolation, or Cape Comfort.* Captain Pinzon going on shore, took possession of the country in the name of their catholic majesties, and endeavoured to the utmost of his power, to induce the inhabitants to trade with him. This the natives not only refused, but attacked the intruders, and some were slain on each side, which compelled Pinzon to retire, and continue his voyage to the river Maranon. The country, at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited; but not being able to persuade the inhabitants to traffic, he determined to proceed thence to Paria.

Yanez, on his arrival at Paria, took in Brazil-wood, and then struck over to the islands that lay in the way to Hispaniola: but when the ships were

* It is now called Cape St. Augustine.

lying at anchor, there arose such a dreadful storm, that two of the four sunk in sight of the others, with their crews; a third was forced out to sea, and the fourth, though she rode it out, beat so furiously, that the sailors believing she would be dashed to pieces, escaped ashore in the long-boat. When the storm abated, the vessel, that had been driven to sea returned; thence they sailed to Hispaniola, where they refitted, and returned to Spain about the latter end of September, after having discovered 600 leagues of the coast of Paria.

James de Lepe, a native of Palos, having heard of the expedition undertaken by Pinzon, applied to the earl of Miranda, promising to perform wonders, if he would enable him to make the same voyage. His request was complied with, and he actually arrived at the mouth of the river Maranon, soon after Pinzon had left it. The natives, being provoked at his seizing thirty-six men, and carrying them on board, vigorously attacked the Spaniards, and killed several of them, which obliged him to prosecute his voyage to Paria, where he also quarrelled with the inhabitants, and returned without making the least advantage of this expedition, except taking a few Indians prisoners.

It is here proper to observe, that Brazil, one of the richest provinces in South America, was accidentally discovered by Peter Alvarez Cabral,* in his voyage to the East Indies.† But it is now necessary to return to the discoveries made by the great Columbus.

* See Cabral's voyage to the East-Indies, vol. iv., and the settlement of Brazil by the Portuguese, vol. ii.

† The coast of India had been discovered by Vasco de Gama, in 1498. See De Gama's voyage, vol. iv.

CHAP. V.

Columbus's fourth voyage. His arrival at Hispaniola, where he receives the basest treatment from the new governor, Obando. Leaving that island, he prosecutes his discoveries along the coast of the continent: proceeds to the isthmus of Darien; thence to Porto Bello; sends a detachment up the river Veragua, in search of gold mines; and attempts to form a settlement at the mouth of the river Belem. He then proceeds to Jamaica, where his ships are destroyed. His arrival at Hispaniola, and return to Spain. His death. An account of his person and character.

COLUMBUS, having received his instructions, sailed from Cadiz with four small ships, and 140 men, including boys; on the 9th of May, 1502, he arrived at St. Catherine's, and departed from thence on the 11th for Arzilla, a port town of Morocco, then subject to Portugal, and invested by the Moors. He sailed thither, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress; but the Moors had raised the siege before his arrival. The admiral then sailed for Grand Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th, and, having taken in wood and water for the voyage, proceeded on the 25th in the evening, for the West-Indies, with so favourable a wind, that, on the 15th of June, he arrived at the island of Martinico. He there took in a fresh supply of wood and water, and then sailed by the Caribbee islands to St. Domingo in Hispaniola, where he intended to exchange one of his ships, which was a bad sailer; in order to continue his voyage, with less hinderance, to the coast of Paria, in quest of a straight, which he concluded was near the place since called Veragua and Nombre de Dios.

In order that the judge, sent by their majesties to call Bovadilla to an account, might not be surprised at his unexpected arrival, he, on his approaching the port, dispatched before him one of his captains, to signify the necessity of changing the ship, and to represent, that as he apprehended a great storm was approaching, he proposed to secure himself in that port, and desired that the homeward bound fleet might not sail for eight days, by which means it would avoid the danger to which it would otherwise be exposed. But so little inclined was this new governor to assist the admiral with another vessel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port; and, disregarding his advice, permitted the fleet, in which were Roldan, and all who had been in the rebellion, to put to sea, on their return to Spain.

But the fleet had no sooner weathered the east point of Hispaniola, than there arose so terrible a storm, that the admiral of the fleet, in which was Bovadilla, and most of the rebels, foundered; and this hurricane was so fatal to the rest, that of the eighteen ships that were in that fleet, only four were saved. Meanwhile Columbus, who had foreseen the storm, and been refused admittance into an island which he had discovered, and added to the dominions of Spain, sheltered himself under the land; but the next day the tempest increasing, three of Columbus's vessels were forced out to sea, when the Bermuda, the ship he wanted to exchange, would certainly have perished, had she not been preserved by the admirable skill of his brother Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the most expert seaman of his time. The ships being thus separated, each concluded that the other was lost, until

in a few days they met again in the port of Azua. The admiral's satisfaction, however, was considerably diminished by the mortification he felt, upon reflecting that he had been denied shelter in a port where he had a right to command, and refused a privilege that is never denied to strangers. However, the consequence of this storm furnished his superstitious enemies with a pretence for saying, that he had raised it by magic, in order to destroy the fleet bound for Spain; and what seemed to add weight to this ridiculous supposition was, that the only ship of the eighteen that arrived in Spain was the Aguja, on board of which were four thousand pesos of gold belonging to the admiral, while three others, that resisted the fury of the waves, were forced to return, in a shattered condition, to St. Domingo.

Columbus, while in the port of Azua, gave his men some refreshment after the storm, and allowed them to divert themselves with fishing, in which they had good success: and amongst the fish they caught here, was one called the savina, which is as big as an ordinary church-bell, and lying asleep above water, was struck by a harpoon-iron by the crew in one of the boats. They also caught in the same bay the manatee, or sea-cow, an amphibious animal, whose flesh was compared by the people on board to that of veal.

Columbus, having here repaired the damage his ships had sustained by the storm, sailed, in order to make discoveries on the continent, and reached the islands of Guania, near the province now called Honduras, where Bartholomew Columbus, going ashore with two boats, they saw a great number of pine trees, and pieces of lapis calaminaris, which,

which, being mixed with copper, some of the seamen mistook for gold.

While the admiral's brother was at this island, he observed approaching the shore a canoe made of one tree, as long as a galley; it was eight feet wide, and had an awning of palm-leaves in the middle, not unlike those of the Venetian gondolas: under this covering the women, children, and all the goods were sheltered from the weather; and though there were twenty-five men on board the canoe, they had not the courage to defend themselves against the boats, but being pursued, were taken without opposition. The admiral was rejoiced at his having obtained an opportunity of discovering the commodities of the continent, without exposing his men to danger; and having given orders for examining the cargo, there were found quilts, and a kind of shirts without sleeves, made of cotton curiously wrought and dyed of several colours; some small cloths of the same sort, to be worn about the middle, with large sheets, in which the women on board wrapped themselves; large wooden swords, edged on each side with sharp flints fixed in grooves with thread and a bituminous matter; hatches made of copper, and bells of the same metal, with plates and crucibles for melting it. As for the provisions, they consisted of the same kind of roots and grain as were eaten in Hispaniola, and a sort of liquor resembling English beer, made of maize. They had also a considerable number of cocoa-nuts, upon which they seemed to set a great value; for notwithstanding the consternation with which they were seized, at finding themselves prisoners aboard the ship, they never failed, when one of these nuts chanced to fall upon

the deck, to stoop and take it up with eagerness, as if it were something of consequence. They behaved with extraordinary modesty, and seemed to have some sense of decorum, with which the admiral was so pleased, that he ordered them to be well used; gave them European commodities in exchange for such of their goods as he thought proper to retain, and then restoring their canoe, suffered them all to depart but one old man, who seemed to be the principal and most sensible man of the company, in order to learn something of the country, and to draw others to converse with the christians, which he faithfully did, as long as they sailed where his language was understood; and, when he could be no longer serviceable, was dismissed with a present, and sent home highly pleased.

Though the admiral was told by this Indian of the great wealth, politeness and ingenuity, of the people westward towards Mexico, yet knowing that as that country lay to the leeward, he could sail thither from Cuba whenever he thought fit, he resolved at present to persist in his design of discovering a strait in the continent, through which he expected to find the East Indies, and, in particular, the country that produced spices. He accordingly sailed towards a point on the continent, to which he gave the name of Casinas, from his finding there great plenty of trees, bearing a fruit so called by the natives of Hispaniola; and near this cape saw people, who wore painted tunics, or shirts made of cotton, so thick and strong as to defend them against the weapons used in that country, and even to bear off the stroke of some of ours. Farther to the eastward he found the natives of a fierce aspect, and of a savage disposition; they went

entirely naked; eat flesh and fish raw as it was taken, and made holes in their ears, which they stretched by their pendants so wide, that a hen's egg might be passed through them, from which circumstance the admiral denominated that coast De las Orejas, or of the Ears.

On the 14th of August, in the morning, Bartholomew Columbus went ashore upon this coast, to hear mass, with the colours flying, and attended by the captains and many of the men; and a few days after he again landed, to take possession of the country for their catholic majesties, when about one hundred Indians, loaded with provisions, ran towards the shore, but on the approach of the boats suddenly retired without speaking a word. The lieutenant perceiving their timidity, desired the interpreter to allure them with bells, beads, and other toys, with which they were so pleased, that they returned in greater numbers the next day, with several sorts of provisions, as hens, which were better than those of Spain, geese, broiled fish, and red and white beans. The country was low, green and beautiful, and produced abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees, and mirabolans, with all the fruits that were to be found on the island of Hispaniola; there were also deer, leopards, and other animals. The inhabitants were like those of the islands, only their foreheads were not so high; for the most part they went naked, except a cloth round their waists, but those of distinction wore red and white cotton cloths about their heads; and some had a short jacket, without sleeves, that reached to the waist. Their arms and bodies were ornamented with different figures, wrought into the skin by pricking it; and, on festival days, they

painted their faces of various colours, in a terrific manner. They seemed to have no religion, and each tribe spoke a particular language.

From Cape Casinas, the admiral was seventy days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward, the wind and current being contrary all the time. But as there was good riding all along the coast, he tacked to and fro, and every night dropped anchor under the land; but at length he reached a cape, to which he gave the name of Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God; because from that place, the land turning off to the south, enabled him to prosecute his voyage with a trade wind. However, a little beyond this headland he passed some dangerous sands, which for a considerable way ran out to sea.

On the 16th of September, being in want of wood and water, Columbus sent the boats into a river, that seemed to have a deep and good entrance; but on their return, the wind blowing from the sea, and the waves running high against the current of the river, one of the boats, with all her men, was lost, when the admiral called this Rio de la Disgracia, or the River of Disaster. Still running to the southward, they, on the 25th, anchored near a little island called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent named Coriari, which is situated near a great river, to the banks of which a multitude of people resorted; some with bows and arrows, others with staves, of a wood as black as jet, as hard as iron, and pointed with fish-bones; while others came with clubs. They seemed to have assembled with the intention of defending their country from invasion; but observing the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, were very desirous of bartering their commodities with them, which consisted of arms,

cotton jackets, and pieces of pale gold, which they wore about their necks. With these things they swam to the boats, for the Spaniards did not go on shore that day nor the next; nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange, but presented them with several baubles. Yet the less the Spaniards seemed to regard the traffic, the more eagerness they discovered for it, and made signs for them to come ashore; but these proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving what they had received on the shore. The Indians at length supposing that the Spaniards did not confide in their sincerity, sent an old man, carrying a flag upon a staff, attended by two young girls with pieces of gold about their necks. These, by the old man's desire, were conducted by the boat's crew aboard the admiral, who ordered them to be clothed and fed, and then set on shore, where they were received with much satisfaction by the old man, and fifty of the natives.

Bartholomew Columbus going ashore the next day, in order to learn something of the country, two of the chief men came to the boat, and, taking him by the arms, made him sit down between them. In this situation he began to interrogate them by signs, and ordered his secretary to write down what were supposed to be their answers; but they no sooner saw the pen, ink and paper, than they ran away, imagining perhaps that these were implements of sorcery; for they had performed some ceremonies of exorcism before they approached the Spaniards, scattering a powder in the air, then burning some of the same powder, and endeavouring to make the smoke fly towards the Christians.

A few days after, the admiral desired his brother

to go on shore with several men to view the town, and obtain some knowledge of the country. The most remarkable things he observed were several tombs, in a great wooden structure covered with canes, in one of which was a dead body embalmed; in another, two bodies wrapt up in cotton sheets, but without any ill scent, and over each tomb was a board, upon which were carved the figures of beasts, and on some of them the effigies of the deceased, adorned with plates of gold about their necks, and other ornaments.

These being the most civilized Indians in those parts, the admiral ordered some of them to be taken, out of whom he chose two, who seemed to be the most intelligent; the rest were sent away with presents, and endeavours were used to make them sensible, that their companions were detained for no other reason but to serve as guides upon that coast, and that in a little time they would be set at liberty; but the natives believing they were detained through avarice, a number of them came down to the shore the next day, and sent four persons on board to treat for their ransom, with a present of two wild hogs, which were very small. Columbus caused these deputies to be kindly entertained; and though he would not grant their request, he sent them away well satisfied, and amply paid for the hogs; one of which was hunted on the deck by a kind of wild cat, of a greyish colour, that had been caught in the woods by one of the sailors, after he had cut off one of its fore-legs: this animal leaps like a squirrel from tree to tree, and not only fastens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it frequently suspends itself either for sport or rest. These hogs, though naturally very

fierce, no sooner saw this animal, than they ran terrified about the deck; when the admiral, perceiving their fright, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which instantly twisted its tail round the hog's snout, and fastening the foreleg that remained upon its head, would soon have dispatched it, had not the men interposed.

On the 5th of October, the admiral sailed into the bay of Caravaro, which is six leagues in length, and about three in breadth. Here they found many small islands, with channels between them, through some of which the ships sailed as it were in lanes, the trees on each side brushing against the shrouds. As soon as they anchored in this bay, the boats were sent to one of the islands, where there were twenty canoes on the shore, the people lying near them quite naked, having only a gold plate about their necks. They expressed no signs of fear, but for three bells gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and said there was great plenty of that metal on the continent, at a small distance from the shore.

The next day the boats were sent on shore upon the continent, and in their way met with two canoes full of people, who, refusing to barter their gold plates, two of the chief persons amongst them were taken, in order that the admiral might obtain some intelligence from them by means of the Cariari interpreters. The gold plate, worn by one of those men, weighed fourteen, that of the other twenty-two ducats; and these confirmed what the islanders said of the gold, which was to be found at the distance of two days journey up the country. In this bay they took great numbers of fish, and on the shore they found a large quantity of provisions, and

also great plenty of roots and fruit. The men were painted all over of several colours, as red, black and white, and had no other covering but a narrow cotton cloth, which hung round the waist.

From this bay the admiral sailed into another very near it, and on the 17th pursued his voyage twelve leagues farther to the river Gusiga, when, ordering out the boat to go ashore, the men were furiously assaulted by upwards of a hundred Indians, who ran up to their middles in the sea, brandishing their lances, blowing horns, and throwing sea-water towards the Spaniards, at whom they also spouted the juice of some shrubs they were chewing, with signs of detestation and defiance. The Spaniards, without either approaching or retreating, endeavoured to appease them, which at length they effected, and at last exchanged sixteen gold plates, worth one hundred and sixty-five ducats, for a few bells and other baubles. However, notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, the next day the natives lay in ambush for the boats; but perceiving that no body would venture to land without knowing what disposition they were in, they rushed into the water as before, and even threatened to throw their javelins, unless the boats, that lay on their oars, returned to their ships. The Spaniards, at length exasperated at this insolent behaviour, wounded one of them with an arrow: and, at the same time, the admiral firing one of the guns, so terrified them, that they fled with precipitation; when four men landing, invited them by signs to return, on which they laid down their arms, came back, and peaceably exchanged their gold plates.

The admiral then proceeded on his voyage, and casting anchor at the mouth of a great river, the

people of the country were seen to assemble, and soon after sent two men in a canoe to the ships, who having talked with the Cariari interpreters, came on board without any apprehensions, and, by the advice of those Indians, gave their gold plates to the admiral, who in return presented them with some trifles. The canoe returning, another appeared with three men, who behaved in the same manner; and amity being thus established, the Spaniards went on shore, where they found a great number of Indians with their king, who only differed from the rest, in being covered with a large leaf of a tree, to defend him from the rain. This prince, to set his subjects an example, exchanged his plate, and bid them barter for theirs, which they instantly did, and the Spaniards received nineteen plates of pure gold. Here they saw an old wall, which seemed to be built with stone and lime; and this being the first part of the Indies where Columbus discovered signs of a solid and regular structure, he brought away a piece of it as a memorial.

The admiral now sailing with a fresh gale to the eastward, continued his course to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made, which they wore about their necks; and continuing his voyage, he arrived at a harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto-bello, or Beautiful Port, from its being very spacious, and encompassed by a fine and populous country. He entered this harbour on the 2d of November, passing between two small islands, within which the ships lay close to the shore, where he was obliged by the rain and bad weather to continue seven days, during which he was constantly visited by the people in canoes, who

came from the adjacent country to barter fine spun cotton and provisions for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th he sailed eight leagues to the east ward, but the next day was forced four leagues back, by stress of weather, and putting in among the islands near the continent, where the town of Nombre de Dios now stands, called the place Puerto de Bastimentos, or the Port of Provisions; because all those small islands were covered with corn. Here a boat well manned being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians were so frightened, that they threw themselves into the sea, and escaped to shore, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Spaniards to take some of them.

Columbus staid here refitting the ships until the 23d of November, when he continued his course eastward, trading with the Indians on the coast for provisions, and such pieces of gold as hung at their ears and noses. On the 24th he entered a small port, which he named the Retreat, from its being able to contain no more than five or six ships, and its being only fifteen or twenty paces wide at the mouth. On both sides the rocks appeared above water; but the channel between them was so deep as not to be fathomed, though if the ships inclined to either side, the men might leap on shore. The admiral was induced to enter this confined harbour, by the misrepresentations of those who were sent to view it, whose avarice rendering them fond of dealing with the Indians, they were glad of lying close to the shore, in order to have a constant opportunity of changing trifles for gold.

The Indians at first came very familiarly to trade with the ships, until being provoked by the inso-

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lence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, they began to have recourse to arms, and some skirmishes passed between them. As their numbers daily increased, their courage rose in proportion, and they at length seemed resolved to board the ships, when the admiral, having in vain attempted to appease them by patience and acts of civility, found that he was obliged to alter his behaviour, in order to convince them of his importance, commanded some of the guns to be fired; but this noise, which they found unattended with any consequences, gave them no apprehensions, and therefore they answered it with shouts, and, beating the trees with staves, by threatening signs showed that they did not fear the noise; upon which Columbus ordered one of the guns to be loaded with ball, and fired at a company of these Indians assembled upon a small eminence, when the ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible that he could make use of a thunder-bolt as well as of thunder; for they fled with the utmost consternation, and afterwards durst not appear even on the mountains.

These were the best shaped Indians of any they had yet seen; they were tall and slender, without the prominent bellies frequent in these parts. The country afforded but few trees and little grass, and the harbour was infested with large alligators.

The ships had been nine days confined here by bad weather, when Columbus, perceiving that violent winds from the east and north-east continued to blow without ceasing, and that it was impossible to trade any longer with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to return, in order to obtain satisfaction about what he had heard of the mines of Veragua. On the 5th of December he sailed for

The Indians flying in Confusion at a Shot discharged from the Ship.

Maguire Sc.

Dublin, Published by J. Christie 17, Rafs Lane.

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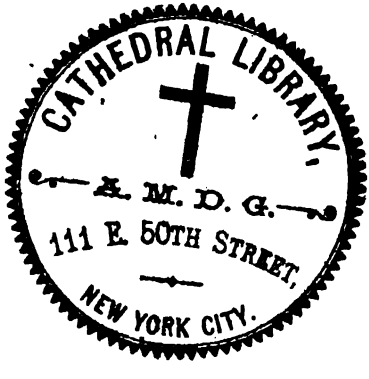
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



Porto-Bello, but the next day the wind shifted to the west; however, not thinking this a settled gale, he bore against it for some days, during which the weather was so extremely boisterous and unsettled, that the sailors could scarce stand upon the deck; they had heavy and incessant rains, the air was filled with lightning, and the thunder roared incessantly. The men, who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to all the violence of the storm, began to be terrified, and filled with despair, especially on their finding, that when the weather seemed a little to favour their sailing towards Veragua, the wind veered about, and drove them towards Porto-Bello, and when they were in hopes of entering that harbour, they were beat off again. In the midst of this danger and distraction, they were near being overwhelmed by a water-spout; and, to complete their misfortunes, they lost sight of one of the ships, which they concluded was lost, till they saw her again at the end of three dark and dismal days, in which she had been obliged to cast anchor, and had afterwards been driven to sea with the loss of her anchor and boat.

The men were now not only quite spent with cold, hunger and fatigue, but the ship almost shattered to pieces by the tempest, when they were relieved by a calm which lasted two days, during which they were surrounded by a prodigious number of sharks, that would bite at the hook, though baited only with a red rag. These had a dreadful appearance to the superstitious sailors, who imagined, that as the ravens are said to smell out dead bodies at a great distance, so these ravenous fish were an omen of their destruction, and were ready to devour them as soon as the ships should fall to pieces. Many of

these fish were caught, and from the belly of one of them was taken an entire turtle, and from another the whole head of a shark, which the sailors had caught and thrown into the sea. The sailors, however, notwithstanding their apprehensions, and this fish being allowed to make a very indifferent meal, eat them with great eagerness; for they had been now eight months at sea, and had consumed all their provisions except their biscuit, part of which was so full of maggots, that many delayed eating it till it was dark, to avoid seeing what they were obliged to swallow.

On the 17th of December the admiral entered into a large harbour, where he permitted his men to repose themselves for three days; during which, going ashore, they found that the inhabitants lived in huts built upon the tops of trees, sticks being laid from bough to bough, and the huts erected on them: a custom which must have arisen from the fear of wild beasts, or of land floods.

In the beginning of January, 1503, they cast anchor near a river, which the admiral named Belem or Bethlem, from his arriving there on the feast of the Epiphany. To the westward of the river was that of Veragua, the water of which was shallow; however, the boat went up it to the town, where they were informed that they should find the gold mines of Veragua so often mentioned. The Indians at first appeared inclined to oppose the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian interpreter going on shore, and representing them in a favourable light, the natives were pacified, and exchanged with them twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces of the same metal, like joints of reeds, and some grains of gold that had never been melted; which they intimated

The Inhabitants of Huiva, on the Continent of America.

Maguire Sculp.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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had been gathered upon certain mountains at a great distance.

On the 9th the admiral sailed up the river Belem, when the Indians soon came to barter with the Spaniards, bringing fish, which, at some seasons of the year, come up these rivers in incredible numbers; they exchanged some gold for pins, beads, and hawks bells, and the next day the ship was joined by the two others, which had staid behind for want of water.

On the 3d day after their arrival Bartholomew Columbus went up the river with the boats, to a town belonging to a cacique named Quibio, who, hearing of the lieutenant's design, came in his canoe to meet him, and having received each other in a friendly manner, discoursed by means of their interpreter for a long time together. The next day the same prince visited the admiral, made him some presents, and after a conversation which lasted an hour, during which his people exchanged some gold for bells, retired well pleased with his reception.

They had lived five days in this friendly manner, when the river suddenly swelled to such a surprising height, and rushed down with such impetuosity, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and, running foul of the ship Galega, brought the foremast by the board, and both the vessels were in danger of perishing. This sudden swell of the river was supposed to proceed from a violent shower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua, which the admiral named St. Christopher's. On the 6th of February, the ships being caulked and refitted, the admiral sent his brother with sixty-eight men, in boats, to the river Veragua, the mouth of which was at a league's distance from that of

Belem; when rowing up, they arrived at the cacique's town, where they staid a whole day, inquiring the way to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence they received, they, next day, travelled four leagues and a half, and the day following arrived at the place to which they were directed, when, in two hours time, every man gathered some gold about the roots of the trees, which were very thick, and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, as none of those who went had any tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. As the sole aim of this expedition was to obtain information relating to the mines, they returned well pleased to the ship, though, as they afterwards learned, the mines from which they had picked it, were not those of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to a people at war with the cacique Quibio, who had artfully directed the Spaniards to his enemies mines instead of his own.

On the 14th of February the admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, followed by a boat with fourteen, and marched to the river of Urira, seven leagues west of Belem. The next day he met the cacique, attended by twenty men, who made them a present of provisions and some gold plates. During this intercourse the Indians chewed a dry herb, and sometimes added to it a sort of powder. Having rested in this place, the Spaniards and Indians went together to the town, whence abundance of people came out to meet them, and a house being provided for their lodging, they were hospitably entertained. Soon after came the cacique of a neighbouring town named Durira, attended by a great number of Indians, who brought some gold plates to barter, and told the lieutenant, that up in

the country there were caciques, who had great quantities of gold, and that there were many men armed like the Spaniards.

The next day Don Bartholomew marched with thirty men towards Zobabra, after having ordered the rest to return by land to the ships. He here saw the ground for about six leagues covered with maize, and cultivated like the corn fields of Europe. At Zobabra he was kindly entertained by the natives, as he was also at another town called Cateba; at both places he purchased some gold plates. Having now advanced a considerable way from the ships, without discovering any harbour along the coast or river, larger than that of Belem, where he might conveniently settle a colony, he returned with a considerable quantity of gold to the place from which he had taken his departure, and where it was now agreed to make a settlement under his command.

Proper dispositions being made, the sailors began to build, about a cannon-shot from the mouth of the river Belem, houses of timber, which they covered with palm-tree leaves, that grew along the shore; a large building was also erected, to serve as a store-house and magazine, in which several pieces of cannon, with powder, provisions and other necessaries were lodged for the support of the planters; while a quantity of wine, oil, vinegar, cheese and grain, was deposited on board the ship Galega, which was to be left with the lieutenant, with cordage, nets, hooks and other fishing tackle for the use of the colony. Indeed these could not fail of being of signal service in a country, that abounds with such quantities of fish, which are caught by the natives with hooks made of tortoise-shell.

The houses being erected, and proper regulations made for the preservation of the new colony, the admiral resolved to return to Spain; but his voyage was effectually prevented, by want of water to carry the ships out of the river, and by a terrible surf that beat upon the shore, and threatened immediate destruction to any vessel that should approach it. To render these circumstances more unfortunate, the rains, which alone could deepen the river, were past; the bottoms of the ships were so worm-eaten, that they resembled honey-combs; and, to complete their vexation, one of their interpreters reported, that Quibio intended to set fire to the houses of the Spaniards, who, contrary to his inclination, and to that of his people, had made a settlement in his dominions.

Upon this occasion the admiral concerted measures with his brother for seizing the cacique with his principal men, in order to carry them to Spain as hostages for the good behaviour of his subjects: an expedient which, however politic, was not at all agreeable to the humanity of Christopher Columbus on other occasions, and equally inconsistent with all the laws of nature and nations. However, on the 30th of March, the lieutenant, attended by above seventy men, proceeded to Veragua, which consisted of straggling houses, and, at a small distance from that place, was desired by a messenger from the cacique not to come up to his house, which stood on a hill; but, notwithstanding this request, the lieutenant resolved to proceed with only five men, ordering the rest to follow two by two at some distance, and when they should hear a musket fired, to beset the houses, and let no person escape. On his approaching Quibio's residence, he

was met by another messenger, who entreated him not to enter the house, and told him that the cacique himself would come out, though he was wounded by an arrow. Quibio, on his going to the door, agreeably to his promise, was immediately seized by the lieutenant, and the musket being fired, the house was soon surrounded by the rest of the Spaniards, and about thirty persons made prisoners, without the least opposition, among whom were the wives and children of the cacique, with some of his principal subjects, who offered to ransom themselves with a large quantity of gold, that was concealed in an adjoining wood. But the lieutenant, disregarding these offers, ordered them all to be bound and carried on board, before the country should take the alarm; intending himself to stay with the greatest part of the men, to secure some of Quibio's kindred and subjects, whom he had not been able to take; he therefore delivered the prisoners to James Sanchez de Cadiz, an able pilot, to carry them to the admiral. The pilot embarked with them in the boat, when Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Sanchez, moved by compassion, loosened them, but kept the rope with which he was tied in his own hand. The cacique, now finding his hands at liberty, took an opportunity, while the pilot was looking another way, to plunge into the river; which he did so violently, that Sanchez quitted the rope, in order to save himself; and, as it began to grow dark, and the boat was instantly filled with confusion, it was impossible to hear or see how he got on shore.

The lieutenant, perceiving that it would be impossible to overtake the fugitive Indians, the next

day returned with the men to the ships, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, which was worth three hundred ducats in gold plates, to his brother, who, after deducting the fifth part for their catholic majesties, divided the remainder among those who were employed in this expedition.

Soon after it rained, and the river swelling by the flood, the admiral sailed out with three ships, leaving one for the service of his brother. However he came to an anchor at a league's distance, in order to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time sent back the boat for water.

Quibio seeing that the three ships were gone, and being grieved and provoked at the loss of his wives and children, and also exasperated at the violence offered to himself, resolved to attack the settlement. The woods, by which it was surrounded, facilitated this enterprise, and enabled the Indians unperceived to reach a spot within ten paces of the houses, from whence they rushed upon the Christians with dreadful shouts, throwing their javelins not only at those who appeared, but also through the slender roofs, so that four or five were dangerously wounded before the Spaniards were able to put themselves in a posture of defence. Don Bartholomew however, being a man of great courage and resolution, sallied out upon the enemy with seven or eight of his men, and notwithstanding the Indians several times rallied, drove them into the wood; but though the Indians would not engage hand to hand, after they had felt the edge of the European swords, and the teeth of a dog, by which they were furiously attacked, they continued to throw their javelins at a distance, until they were driven from their covert and obliged to fly, after

they had killed one Spaniard, and wounded seven others, among whom was the lieutenant.

Captain James Tristan, whom the admiral had sent ashore with the boat, and who appeared just as the Indians were obliged to retire into the wood, stood an idle spectator during the engagement, without suffering any of his men to land; and, the battle being over, rowed a full league up the river to take in fresh water, at a place quite covered with wood; when the Indians, sallying from the grove in their canoes, attacked him with a shower of javelins, and though the captain sustained their onset with great gallantry, both he and the boat's crew were soon slain, one only escaping to the colony with the tidings of the disaster.

The colony was so terrified at this news, that they would immediately have abandoned the settlement, and joined the admiral in the ship he had left them, had they not been prevented by the lowness of the water at the mouth of the river, which was not sufficient to float their vessel, and the sea beat with such violence over the bar, that no boat could be sent to the admiral with advice of their distress. He himself rode in a very dangerous open road without his long boat, and was ignorant of the unhappy fate of the captain and his crew until he had the mortification to see their bodies driving down the river, covered with wounds. This melancholy spectacle spread great despondence among his people, who concluded that the whole colony had perished. Meanwhile the Indians, elated at the advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the settlement, which they carried on day and night without intermission, so that every Spaniard must have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment, had

they not removed to an open strand, where they formed a barricado of casks and other lumber, and planted their cannon so as to make great havoc among the natives.

The admiral waited ten days for fair weather, in order to send the only boat that now remained for intelligence; during which time several of the Indian prisoners, who were confined in the hold, burst open the hatches in the night, leaped into the sea and swam on shore; and those that remained, being disappointed in their hopes of escaping in the same manner, hanged themselves.

As the weather still continued boisterous, and the Spaniards on board grew extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions, one of the sailors offered to swim ashore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the surf began to run high. This proposal, which was gladly embraced by the admiral, was soon put in execution, and the sailor having obtained sufficient intelligence from the colony, swam off again, and gave a circumstantial account of all that had happened, and the particulars of the divisions and dissensions which now prevailed among the men, who paid no regard to Don Bartholomew's authority, and were unanimous in nothing but their resolution to leave the place. They desired to be immediately taken on board, and resolved, if that was refused them, to put to sea in their own rotten vessels, since they had rather trust to the mercy of the waves, than continue exposed to the resentment of the Indians. Upon this Columbus agreed to send for them, and the weather becoming favourable, they left the country, taking with them all their goods and effects in the boat, and some canoes which they

lashed together, leaving nothing behind them but the hulk of the ship, which was unfit for service.

The company being thus to their mutual joy reassembled, the admiral sailed to the eastward, as far as Porto-bello, where he was obliged to leave one of his ships, which was so leaky and worm-eaten, that she could not proceed, and continued his course until the 10th of May, when he observed two small islands, which he named Tortugas, from the great number of turtle found there. Then continuing his course thirty leagues to the northward, he arrived at the islands called Jardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Gardens, ten leagues to the south of Cuba, by which time the ships were so leaky, that the men were harrassed by working at the pumps; and, as they had scarcely any provisions left, they were but little able to support such fatigue. In this unhappy situation they were overtaken by a dreadful storm, in which the ship Bermuda ran foul of the admiral, and both were in the greatest danger of being foundered; the same night they narrowly escaped being wrecked upon some sharp rocks.

The wind having at length abated, the admiral sailed to an Indian town on the coast of Cuba, where having purchased some refreshments, he stood over to Jamaica, pumping and baling all the way, notwithstanding which the water rose up almost to the deck. In this situation he put into a harbonr called Puerto Rueno, but finding no fresh water there, steered to the eastward into another called Santa Gloria, where finding it impossible to keep the ships afloat, he ran them ashore, along side of each other, causing them to be propped up on each side to keep them upright, and sheds to be made on the

poop and forecastle, to secure the sailors from the inclemencies of the weather, and the attempts of the inhabitants.

He here made it his study to oblige the natives, who resorted in great numbers to the ships with what they had to barter, and appointed two persons to superintend the market, and prevent frauds or abuses, as well as to divide what was purchased equally among the sailors. This regulation was both agreeable to his own men and to the Indians, who exchanged two small animals, like rabbits, for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for two green or yellow beads, and things of greater value for a hawk's bell: and sometimes a cacique or other considerable person, was bestowed a pair of scissars, or a small looking-glass.

The admiral having consulted with the officers on the best means of leaving the island, it was agreed to send an account of their situation to Nicholas de Obando, governor of Hispaniola, and to Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the admiral's factor there, to desire that a ship might be freighted, and sent to their relief at the admiral's expence. Two canoes were chosen for this dangerous expedition, in one of which James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's chief secretary, embarked, with six Spaniards and Indians to row it, and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, went with the same number of hands on board the other, with orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival. They then rowed to the easternmost point of Jamaica, under the conduct of the admiral's brother, who took care to supply them with every thing necessary for the voyage, which was a very extraordinary one to be performed by canoes, since the dis-

tance between the two islands amounted to thirty-three leagues, without any intervening land, except a small rock or island about eight leagues from the coast of Hispaniola. Don Bartholomew made them wait for a calm, and then ordering them to prosecute their voyage, staid until they were out of sight.

They launched out at night, the Indians who rowed sometimes leaping into the water to cool themselves, and then returning to the oar again. The second day after their departure, they all began to be much tired; but the two chiefs encouraged the men, advising them to eat in order to recover their strength. The Indians, being heated by the sun, and by labouring at the oar, soon emptied their calibashes of water, and the heat increasing, their thirst increased with it, so that by noon they had no strength left. They were then relieved by the commanders frequently giving them something to drink out of their rundlets, which supported them until the cool of the evening. They were soon greatly distressed with the apprehension that they had lost their way, and missed a little island eight leagues from Hispaniola, where they expected to refresh themselves: and that afternoon they threw an Indian overboard, who died with thirst; others lay motionless, while the rest expected death, and held salt-water in their mouths to cool them, but could receive no comfort from it.

They proceeded the second night without seeing the island, until the moon rising it was happily discovered, when they all joined in encouraging the Indians, showed them the land, and giving them water so revived their spirits, that by break of day they arrived at the island. They, however, found it to

be a solid rock, about half a league in compass, without a single tree or spring of water; yet going about from one cliff to another, they collected in the hollows more than was necessary to quench their thirsts; for being scorched with drought, they drank so freely, that some of the poor Indians died upon the spot, and others fell sick. There they staid until the afternoon, and having rested and refreshed themselves with the shell-fish they picked up along the shore, went on board in the evening, and steered to the nearest land of Hispaniola, where they arrived early in the morning. Fiesco, having rested two days, was desirous of returning to the admiral according to his promise, but was obliged to desist, because neither the sailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage. Mendez, though he laboured under a quartan ague, occasioned by his sufferings at sea, immediately set out for Xaragua, where he informed the governor of the admiral's situation, and, after much importunity, obtained leave to purchase a ship at St. Domingo.

To return to the island of Jamaica. Soon after the departure of the canoes, the men, who were left behind, began to grow sickly, in consequence of a change of provisions, and the fatigue they had suffered, whence a spirit of discontent diffused itself among them. They now privately murmured, and caballed against the admiral, whom they accused of being the cause of all their misfortunes. The chief promoters of these discontents were two brothers, named Porras, one of whom had been captain of the ship Bermuda, and the other purser of the fleet. These having gained over forty-eight of the men, determined to put their mutinous intentions in execution. Accordingly, on the 2d of

January, 1504, captain Francis de Porras, whom they had chosen for their leader, went upon the quarter-deck, and insolently asked of the admiral, 'What is the reason, my lord, that you will not return to Spain, but keep us here to perish?' To this Columbus calmly replied, that it was impossible for them to return to Spain, until they were assisted by a vessel from Hispaniola; and that they well knew he had already, with their concurrence, sent for a ship; but that if they had any better method to offer, they might propose it. De Porras replied, that there was no necessity of advising; for that he might embark immediately, or stay behind; and then turning his back, added, I will go to Spain with all that will follow me. Being immediately seconded by all the mutineers, he seized ten canoes, which the admiral had bought of the Indians, and went to the eastern point of Jamaica, whence Mendes and Fiesco had departed for Hispaniola.

From this point they attempted to pass over to Hispaniola, with some Indians, whom they had compelled to go on board every canoe, to serve as rowers; but they had not got four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, beginning to freshen, and the sea to rise, they were under the necessity of lightening the canoes, by throwing every thing over board, except some provisions, water, and arms; and at last the poor Indians who rowed. Being thus compelled to return, some were for taking advantage of the easterly wind and currents for passing over to Cuba, whence they would have a short cut to Hispaniola; others for returning, and, either making peace with the admiral, or depriving him by force of all he had in his possession. But it was finally agreed, by a majority

of voices, that they should wait for a calm, and then make another attempt to pass directly over. They staid a month or six weeks, waiting for this opportunity, at an Indian town near that cape, during which they plundered the natives; but, having made two unsuccessful efforts to perform the voyage, quitted their canoes, and rambled over the country, sometimes bartering with the natives for provisions, and sometimes taking them by force.

Columbus exerted all his address to remove the bad impressions made by the mutineers on the minds of the Indians, by which means he engaged them to supply him with provisions; but this constant supply producing a scarcity, the natives sowing little more than was just necessary for their subsistence, more of his men revolted, and the natives, who were already stocked with the commodities brought by the Spaniards, no longer considered Columbus as in a situation that commanded respect or obedience.

In this dilemma the admiral fell upon an extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with these savages. As he knew that there would be an eclipse of the moon within three days, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola, who was on board, and spoke Spanish, to assemble the cacique and principal men of that district, in order to confer with them on an affair in which they were nearly concerned. The natives obeying the summons the day before the eclipse, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were Christians, and believed in God, who created heaven and earth, rewarded the just, and punished the wicked; and, therefore, would not suffer the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, though

he had conducted Mendes and Fiesco to that island; that the same Almighty Being was displeased at the Indians for neglecting to supply his distressed servants with provisions in exchange for their commodities, and was, therefore, determined to punish them with pestilence and famine; as a proof of which, God would give a token of his anger in the sky, and that very night they should see the moon rising with a bloody aspect, to point out the punishment God would inflict on them.

This prediction had different effects on the Indians, some of whom were frightened, while others laughed at it; but, on their perceiving the moon actually eclipsed, and darkness increasing as it rose, they were universally filled with consternation, and running from all quarters laden with provisions, intreated the admiral to intercede with God, and prevail on him to be no longer angry with them, as for the future they would take care to supply all his wants.

The admiral replied, that he would offer up his prayers for them; and then shutting himself up until the eclipse was at the height, and ready to decrease, told them, that he had been offering up his petitions to heaven for their preservation; that God had been so good as to forgive them, on their promise of being kind and hospitable to the Christians; and, as a testimony of his forgiveness, they should see the moon by degrees resume her former splendor. The Indians, perceiving the eclipse disappear, praised the God of the Christians, returned the admiral many thanks, and continued to supply him plentifully with provisions; for, though some of them had formerly seen such eclipses, they all thought it impossible to foretel them without an

immediate correspondence with the Deity; and, therefore, considered Columbus as in a peculiar manner the favourite of heaven.

Eight months having elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, without the admiral obtaining the least intelligence of them, the people, supposing they had either perished at sea, or been killed by the Indians of Hispaniola in their way to St. Domingo, began to be extremely dejected, and their fears were confirmed by a canoe, which they found overset and driven by the current on the coast. These apprehensions daily increasing, at length produced a second conspiracy, headed by one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, and two of his companions, who, in imitation of the other mutineers, formed a scheme for deserting the admiral: but its execution was prevented by the arrival of a vessel sent by the governor of Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to anchor near the wrecks, came in his boat to deliver a letter with compliments from the governor, and presented the admiral with a cask of wine and two flitches of bacon, and these being delivered, Escobar weighed anchor and sailed back the same evening.

Columbus was greatly mortified at his abrupt departure, but, however, made use of this event to put an end to this second conspiracy; for he told the men, that, as he had resolved not to go away without them, and as that little caravel was not sufficient to carry them all, Escobar went away so suddenly, that he might lose no time in bringing them relief. This declaration had such an effect on the conspirators, that they immediately laid aside all thoughts of their designs; but the true

reason of the ship's arrival was, that Lares, governor of Hispaniola, was apprehensive that the admiral would, upon his return to Spain, be reinstated in his government, and had sent Escobar to observe his situation, and whether he might not easily be destroyed. However, from this caravel Columbus received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of Mendez and Fiesco at Hispaniola, and did not doubt, but that in consequence of their remonstrances, he should be speedily relieved.

The admiral being desirous of reducing the mutineers, rather by fair means than by force, sent two persons to acquaint them with the advice he had received, to desire them to return, and to let them know, that, in that case, no notice should be taken of what had happened: but Francis de Porras, dreading the consequences of a re-union, met these messengers at a distance, and answered, that they would not trust the admiral; but would behave themselves peaceably in the island, if he would promise to procure a ship to carry them off. Or if he had but one, assign one-half of it to them for their own convenience, and give them a half share of the clothes and commodities that were still in his possession, since they had lost all their own effects, otherwise they would come and take the whole by force. As for the caravel from Hispaniola, they asserted it was only a delusion, which the admiral, who was a great magician, had raised by enchantment.

The mutineers actually resolved to put their threats in execution, and marched to an Indian village, within a quarter of a league of the wrecks, when the admiral, being informed of their design, sent his brother with fifty men well armed, to ex-

postulate with them, and persuade them to return to their duty; but to refrain from all acts of hostility until they should first be attacked. Don Bartholomew posted himself on a rising ground, within bow-shot of the mutineers, and then sent the two messengers the admiral had employed before to offer terms of peace; but the mutineers treating this condescension as the effect of fear, fell upon his men with great confidence of victory: six of the boldest having solemnly sworn to fight their way to the lieutenant, whose death they imagined would disconcert his followers. However, they were disappointed, for at the very first charge five of them were slain. Francis de Porras boldly singled out the lieutenant, and at one blow clove his target down to his hand, which he wounded: but not being able suddenly to recover his sword, was made prisoner, after having received several wounds. The lieutenant then rushed upon the mutineers, and being seconded by his men, obliged them to fly with precipitation.

The next day the fugitives sent a petition to the admiral, in which they confessed their fault, begged pardon, and promised to serve him faithfully for the future. The admiral instantly granted them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection; but to prevent further animosities, kept Francis de Porras a close prisoner, and appointed a person to command and lead them about the island, in order to procure subsistence in exchange for the commodities with which he caused them to be supplied.

In this posture were affairs in Jamaica, where the admiral had been a full year, when a ship arrived, freighted by James Mendez, attended by a

caravel. Columbus then embarked with his whole company on the 28th of June, 1504, and set sail for Hispaniola; but the wind and current being contrary, they had a troublesome voyage, and did not reach St. Domingo until the 13th of August. The governor with all the city went out to meet him, paying him many compliments, and lodged him in his own house; but this show of respect was mere affectation, for he caused Francis de Porras to be set at liberty, and threatened to punish those who had adhered to the admiral in his greatest dangers.

Columbus being sensible of the deceitful manner in which he was treated, and of the true motives of the governor's behaviour, chose to conceal his resentment, prepared for his departure, and, on the 12th of September, embarked on board a ship provided by his agents, taking with him the vessel that had brought him and his people from Jamaica; but they were no sooner out of port than the main-mast of the lesser vessel came by the board. Upon which he ordered her back to St. Domingo, and continued his voyage in the other. He had not, however, been long at sea, before he met with a violent tempest, wherein all on board expected every moment to perish, and in which they lost their main-mast; but making a jury-mast, they continued their voyage, and after being exposed to another storm that carried away their fore-mast, arrived at the port of St. Lucar.

Columbus upon his landing was greatly afflicted at the news of the death of his best friend, and only patroness, queen Isabella; for though king Ferdinand always treated him with some degree of respect, he well knew, that he was far from having

any real kindness for him, or ever any inclination to do him justice. That prince thought the advantages he had stipulated for himself were too considerable, and therefore, instead of fulfilling his engagement, offered him a large estate in Spain in exchange for what was his due in the West Indies. Columbus, who was confined to his bed, was extremely displeased at this treatment: but while he was endeavouring to obtain his just demands, his solicitations were interrupted by king Ferdinand's taking a journey from Valladolid to Laredo, to wait for his son-in-law king Philip, and queen Johanna his daughter. Before the return of Ferdinand, Columbus's illness increasing, he died on the 20th of May, 1506, aged sixty-four. His body was conveyed to the monastery of the Carthusians, at Seville, where he was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

A Castilia ya Leon,
Nueuo Mundo dio Colon.

In English,

To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a New World.

Thus died this truly great man, who was the son of a woolcomber of Congureto, a village in the territory of Genoa: by his abilities he not only raised himself and his family to nobility, but rendered himself by his discoveries the greatest man of the age in which he lived. He was, however, in many respects treated with ingratitude, both by the king and those who were under his own command; and it is no small blemish in king Ferdinand's character, that he did not do justice to his merit, but

always meanly endeavoured to falsify his engagements with him. To Columbus justly belonged the honour of giving a name to the New World, which from him ought to have been called Columbia, while the name of America was bestowed on what he discovered from that of Americus Vesputius, who had no title to that honour. Columbus, by discovering a New World, opened new sources of commerce; he settled Hispaniola, took a view of Cuba, visited and resided for a considerable time in Jamaica, bestowed the name of St. John on the island of Porto Rico, and discovered almost all that could be properly called the West Indies. He, indeed, but barely saw the continent, but then he saw both parts of it, and the isthmus that unites them: and left behind him schemes for extending these discoveries, and conjectures on the consequences that might attend them.

We shall conclude this account with a description of his person, and the character given of him by a Spanish historian, justly esteemed for his fidelity. "Columbus was tall of stature, had a long visage and a majestic aspect, an aquiline nose, grey eyes, and a clear and ruddy complexion. When young his hair and beard were fair; but the many hardships he suffered soon turned them grey. He was a man of wit and pleasantry, was eloquent in discourse, and yet moderately grave. His affability to strangers, and his discreet conversation, gained him the affection of every ingenuous mind; he had an air of authority and grandeur that attracted respect. He was very strict in religion, according to the mode of his country, and obliged such as were under his command to show at least a decent regard to it. He had an earnest concern for the con-

version of the Indians, and endeavoured as much as was in his power to allure them, by obliging the Spaniards to lead a life in some measure agreeable to the faith they professed. He was a man of undaunted courage; was fond of great enterprises; temperate in eating and drinking, and modest in his dress; he was patient, and ready to forgive wrongs, and only desirous that offenders should be sensible of their faults. He remained unmoved amidst the many troubles and adversities that attended him, ever relying on the Divine Providence. In short, had he in much earlier times performed so wonderful an enterprise as the discovery of the New World, he would have had not only statues and temples erected to his honour, but some star would have been dedicated to him, as was done to Hercules and Bacchus. However, his name will be remembered as long as the world endures."

THE

DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS,

FROM

THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS TO CORTES'S EXPEDITION.

CHAP. I.

Settlement of Porto Rico. Establishment of a Pearl-fishery. Alonzo de Hojeda and Diego de Nicuessa attempt to form settlements on the continent. Their death.

AT the death of Christopher Columbus, Nicholas de Obando continued governor of Hispaniola, and distinguished himself by making draughts of the coasts, and by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards as their vassals. The search after gold was unremittingly pursued, and such quantities of that valuable metal were found, that there was annually melted in the island more than the value of £150,000 sterling.

Meanwhile Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spanish gentleman, understanding from the Indians that Porto Rico* abounded in gold, obtained licence from

* This island is 120 miles in length, 60 in breadth, and its northern coast is in the 18th degree of north latitude, and its southern in the 17th. The country consists of a pleasing variety of hills and valleys, woods and meadows, abounding in all the tropical fruits, and well watered with springs and rivers; but, like other countries within the tropics, it has periodical rains and storms. It was conquered from the Spaniards by the Earl of Cumberland, at his own expence, and that of other private

Obando to plant a colony in it. The natives, on his arrival, kindly treated him and his companions; the cacique conducting him over the island, and showing the rivers where gold was found. Ponce having formed a settlement, with the consent of the natives, and collected samples of the gold, sailed to Hispaniola for additional supplies; and, on his return had the pleasure to find, that those he had left behind continued to be well treated by the inhabitants.

While Ponce de Leon was thus employed, Obando was recalled, and Don Diego Columbus came, as his father's successor, to take upon himself the government of Hispaniola, bringing with him from Spain a governor for Porto Rico; but Ponce disputing his authority, the young admiral set them both aside, and appointed Michael Cerron governor, and Michael Diaz his lieutenant. Ponce, however, by the interest of his friend Obando, procured a commission from Spain, and returning to Porto Rico, easily found pretences for seizing Cerron and Diaz, whom he sent prisoners to Spain, and then prosecuted his design of conquering the island. This, though a more difficult task than he had imagined, he effected; and enslaved the natives,

adventurers, in the reign of queen Elizabeth; but losing most of his men in the latter end of the summer, when these climates are very unhealthful, he was obliged to abandon the island.

The Spaniards have introduced European cattle, fruit and corn, and chiefly export sugar, rum and ginger. The capital, which is called Porto Rico and St. John's City, is in a small island in the harbour on the north side, and is joined to the main island by a causeway. The town is now about a mile and a half in circumference, and is fortified by several forts and batteries; it stands on an eminence, and commands the main island on one side, and the sea on the other.

from whom he had, on his entrance, received the kindest treatment. He did not long retain possession; for Cerron and Diaz, being supported by the interest of Columbus, were reinstated by the court of Spain. Ponce, thus reduced to a private state, fitted out two ships for making new discoveries, and on the 2d of April, 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in the latitude of 30° 8′, which, believing to be an island, he named Florida, from its beautiful appearance, or from his discovering it on Easter-Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascha Florida, it being the finest season for flowers.

Diego Columbus meanwhile established a pearl-fishery on the coast of the island of Cubagua, which he named the Island of Pearls. The profits of this fishery soon became so considerable, that the king's fifth was valued at 15,000 ducats. This island, which is 300 leagues from Hispaniola, is situated in the 10th degree north latitude. It is three leagues in compass; the soil is dry and barren, affording only a few guaiacum-trees and shrubs.

About this time Alonzo de Hojeda, who had served under Christopher Columbus, petitioning for a patent for making new settlements, obtained a promise of a grant of all that had been discovered on the continent. But Diego Nicuessa, a man of greater wealth, interposing, stopped the grant, and obtained half of it for himself; the court allowing the former, all the country between Cape de la Vela and the Gulph of Darien, under the name of New Andalusia; and the latter, the country from that gulph to Cape Gracias a Dios, under the name of Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile, in violation of the rights of Diego Columbus, to whom those

countries belonged, on account of their being discovered by his father.

Each of these adventurers fitted out two vessels, with which they sailed to St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, where they quarrelled about their respective rights; but their disputes being at length adjusted, they left the island in the latter end of the year 1510. Hojeda took on board Francis Pizarro, who afterwards conquered Peru, and in a few days arrived at Caramari, since called Carthagena, where the Indians were prepared to oppose him, on account of the injuries they had received.

These people were of a large stature, the men wore their hair down to their ears; that of the women was very long, and both sexes are very expert at shooting with the bow.

Hojeda attempted to barter with them Spanish toys for gold; but finding they were preparing to attack him, fell upon them, made a great slaughter, took some prisoners, and found a small quantity of gold in some of the towns, of which he made himself master. He then marched to a town four leagues within land, whither those had retired who had escaped from the last battle. He found them upon their guard, armed with bows, poisoned arrows, rods which they threw like darts, swords made of hard wood, and targets. He, however, attacked the place, killed great numbers, took sixty prisoners, whom he sent to the ships, and continued to pursue those who fled. The inhabitants of a town called Yarbaco, hearing of his approach, withdrew with their effects into the mountains: thither the Spaniards came, but finding nobody to oppose them, became careless, and dispersed about the country. This being observed by the Indians, they

attacked the Spaniards when they least expected it; who, being divided into small parties, were every where cut off. Hojeda, with several of his men, for some time maintained the fight; but, seeing most of his people killed, he rushed through the thickest of the Indians, and gained the coast.

Happily for Hojeda, Nicuessa now appeared with his two vessels, and was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent for his rival, and generously told him, that, in this case they ought to forget their disputes, and only to remember that they were Spaniards; and that he would therefore revenge his loss. They accordingly united, and landing four hundred men, marched against the Indians, burned the town of Yarbaco, seized a vast number of prisoners, and as much gold as amounted to seven thousand pieces of eight to each of the commanders.

After this they parted, in order to pursue their separate plans. Hojeda fixed a settlement on the eastern promontory of the Gulf of Darien, and gave the town the name of St. Sebastian. But finding that the natives were exasperated at his making a settlement on the coast, he sent captain Enciso, in one of the ships, to Hispaniola, with orders to bring him as large a supply of men and provisions as possible; and in the mean time drew entrenchments about the town for his own security. However, as he soon wanted necessaries, he was obliged to make excursions into the country, by which means many of his people were killed by the poisoned arrows of the natives, and the colony was reduced to a most wretched condition.

Just as the Spaniards were reduced to despair, they with equal joy and amazement beheld a ship

enter the port. It belonged to a pirate, named Bernard de Talavera, and Hojeda immediately buying the ship's cargo, treated the captain with such civility, that he readily entered into his service: but notwithstanding the greatness of this unexpected relief, their provisions were soon consumed, the Indians became more troublesome than before, and, no succours arriving from Hispaniola, they were again reduced to despair.

In this extremity, it was at length resolved that Hojeda himself should sail to St. Domingo, in order to procure supplies; therefore leaving the colony under the command of Francis Pizarro, he embarked on board the pirate vessel, and put to sea; but behaving haughtily to captain Talavera, the latter not only deprived him of all command, but put him in irons. A dreadful storm, however, arising, the crew, depending on his skill, set him at liberty, and by his direction, saved their lives, by running the ship ashore on the coast of Cuba, from whence there is a short passage to Hispaniola; but Talavera not daring to go thither, prevailed on Hojeda to accompany him to Jamaica in a canoe.

After a short stay at Jamaica, the governor sent Hojeda to St. Domingo, where he found that captain Enciso had set sail for St. Sebastian's; but his own credit was there so low, that notwithstanding his being one of the bravest men that ever sailed from Spain to America, he soon died for want, and Talavera staying too long at Jamaica, Columbus caused him to be apprehended, tried and hanged for piracy.

In this interval, Pizarro, with the men under his command, quitted St. Sebastian's, and steered to Carthagena, where he met Enciso, who had just

arrived with two ships, and a considerable reinforcement. They immediately returned to St. Sebastian's, but their ships stranded on the coast, and on landing they found the town reduced to ashes. This they rebuilt as well as they were able; but though they saved out of the stranded vessels as much of their provisions and other necessaries as possible, they were soon again reduced to the utmost distress by war and famine; from which they were relieved, by the dexterity and presence of mind of a very extraordinary man brought by Enciso.

Nunez or Nugnez de Balboa, of a good family, great abilities, and a liberal education, had formerly sailed along that coast with Bastidas, and afterwards obtained a good settlement in Hispaniola, where having committed some irregularities, he was in danger of being put to death. In these unfortunate circumstances, he caused himself to be put on board Enciso's ship in a bread cask, and after having remained there four days, ventured at last to make his appearance, when the ship was a hundred leagues at sea. The captain, who had been ordered not to carry any offenders out of the island, was extremely vexed at seeing him, and threatened to set him on shore in the first desert place he came to: but the principal persons on board interceding for him, Enciso was at length pacified, and granted him his protection, which, however, did not efface from Nunez's memory the usage he had received.

This person, observing that the company were in despair, and knew not how to act, endeavoured to encourage them, by maintaining that they were not in so desperate a state as they imagined; observing that when he was upon this coast before, with Bastidas, they sailed to the bottom of the gulf, where

they saw a very large town, situated in a fruitful soil, and in a fine climate; that it was, indeed, inhabited by warlike Indians; but as they did not make use of poisoned arrows, he advised them to get off their stranded brigantines, and endeavour to sail thither.

This advice being approved was immediately followed; and having succeeded in getting off the ships, they sailed to the river, called by the Indians, Darien, where they found every thing according to Nunez's description. The natives, on their arrival, immediately secured their wives and children, and assembled on a neighbouring hill, in order to prevent the further progress of the invaders. These the Spaniards immediately routed, and then proceeded to the town, which, to their great joy, was full of provisions. The next day they marched up the country, and met with many houses, all deserted by the inhabitants, which they pillaged, and returned laden with plunder, and about 10,000 pieces of fine gold. A settlement was now formed, which they called Santa Maria Antiqua del Darien, or St. Mary the Ancient of Darien; from the name of a church at Seville, and the Indian name of the river.

The success of this enterprize having gained Nunez much reputation, he concerted measures with his friends to depose Enciso. This was soon effected; for Enciso having issued an order, prohibiting all traffic with the Indians for gold, upon pain of death, the Spaniards considered that he intended to monopolize the trade of that valuable metal, and immediately renounced all subjection to him, alledging that his authority was expired. They now chose magistrates like those in Spain;

Nunez de Balboa and Zamadis were elected alcaids, and Valdivia appointed regidor. This form of government was soon disliked; new debates arose, which terminated in the choice of Nicuessa for governor. To this they were induced, by Roderic Henriquez de Colmenares, who arrived with two ships, seventy men, provisions and military stores.

This officer, who was bringing these supplies to Nicuessa, had put into a port at 50 or 60 leagues distance, and sent a party of his men on shore, for a supply of water. While they were thus engaged, they were suddenly attacked by the natives, who stove the boats, and compelled the Spaniards to swim to the ships, having wounded forty-five of the party with poisoned arrows, of whom only one recovered. Colmenares immediately set sail for the bay of Uraba, or Darien, in search of Nicuessa; but arriving at the east side of the bay, and seeing no appearance of the Spaniards there, he ordered signal guns to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks. These being answered by the settlement at Santa Maria, he sailed thither, and distributed his provisions among them.

We shall now return to Diego Nicuessa. After his leaving Alonzo de Hojeda, whom he had so generously assisted, he encountered a violent tempest, which separated his ships. This induced his lieutenant, Lopez de Olano, to attempt the formation of a settlement, and forsake his patron; but failing in this design, he sailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to persuade the people to abandon the original design, and return to Hispaniola; alledging that Nicuessa, and the men with him, had perished. Meanwhile a chaloupe entered the port, and brought advice,

that Nicuessa had been stranded upon an unknown coast; and was now on shore, with his followers, in a miserable condition. Olano immediately dispatched the chaloupe with provisions, which he immediately followed, and rescued Nicuessa and his men from perishing. This seasonable relief did not soften his resentment against Olano, for his desertion, whom he put in irons, and threatened to send in that state to Spain.

Nicuessa now settled a colony on the banks of the river Belem, or Bethlehem; but soon became in such want of provisions, that, leaving only a part of his men there, he sailed with the rest to Portobello, where the Indians not suffering his people to land, he was obliged to steer two or three leagues farther, to the port called by Columbus the Bastimentos, and as soon as he entered it, cried out, Paremos aqui en il Nombre de Dios; that is, Let us stay here in the name of God; whence the place was called Nombre de Dios. Then immediately landing, he began to erect a fortress.

Nicuessa being soon reduced to the same situation as in the former colony, was obliged to send one of his vessels to Hispaniola, to intreat Columbus to grant him some assistance; but the vessel had scarcely sailed, when that with Colmenares arrived with the message from the colony at Santa Maria. This captain was so amazed at seeing Nicuessa and his people lean, ragged and bare-footed, that he could not forbear shedding tears, especially at hearing how many had died, and the great disasters they had sustained; and, therefore, immediately endeavoured to comfort Nicuessa, by telling him, that the people of Santa Maria desired he would come and govern them; that they possessed a pleasant and

fertile country, had plenty of provisions, and were in no want of gold.

Nicuessa now recovering his spirits, returned thanks to heaven for this unexpected news; but soon forgetting his own miserable condition, and that these people had voluntarily made him an offer of becoming their governor and protector, he was so imprudent as publicly to declare, that he would take all their gold from them, and punish them for landing within the limits of his grant. Nor was this his only error; for being desirous of viewing some islands that lay in the way, he suffered a caravel to sail before him, in which were persons who acquainted the colony with these ungenerous expressions; on which they changed their resolution, and resolved not to suffer him to come among them.

Nicuessa having spent eight days among the islands, was greatly surprised, on anchoring at the landing-place at Santa Maria, to find many of the Spaniards on the shore; and at his being ordered by one of them, in the name of all the rest, to return to Nombre de Dios. He desired they would hear him, and for that purpose the next day came on shore, but was instantly compelled to return on board. Nicuessa now intreated, that in case they would not accept him for their governor, he might be at least admitted as a companion; which they refusing, he begged they would keep him as a prisoner, since he had rather die than go back to starve at Nombre de Dios. But, notwithstanding this, they cruelly forced him, and about seventeen of his men, into an old bark, with orders to return to the place from whence they came, on pain of being sunk where they were. There is no doubt of their

having complied with this inhuman order, but with what success is uncertain; for they were never seen afterwards. A story was, however, current in the West Indies, that the Spaniards, on their coming to settle in Cuba, found the following inscription cut on the bark of a large tree: 'Here the unfortunate Nicuessa finished his miseries and his life together.'

After the departure of this unhappy man, Nunez de Balboa distinguished himself as a prudent governor; he made great discoveries; was the first European that saw the South Sea, and prepared the way for the conquest of Peru. As his history has, therefore, a close connexion with that conquest, we shall place it immediately before our account of that great event.

CHAP. II.

Diego Columbus sends Diego Velasquez to plant a colony in Cuba. A description of that island. Discoveries made on the continent.

THOUGH the governments bestowed upon the above adventurers were so many violations of the just rights of the admiral, Don Diego Columbus, he was very much blamed for not endeavouring to assist them to the utmost of his power; and his enemies made use of this complaint at the court of Spain, which always looked upon him with jealousy, and therefore readily listened to any accusation brought against him. Of this the admiral was so sensible, that he used every exertion to secure to himself those countries, to which he had just pretensions, from the contract made with his father,

Being informed at the beginning of the year 1511, that the court was very desirous of having a colony planted in the island of Cuba, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and to send a body of men thither, under the command of a person whom he could trust; that, having a lieutenant there of his own, the court might have no pretence for making a grant of it to any more adventurers, as they had done of that part of the continent discovered by his father, and even of the island of Jamaica; which, however, he had recovered. For this purpose he made choice of James Velasquez, the wealthiest and most esteemed of the first Spanish inhabitants of Hispaniola.

Before we proceed it may not be improper to observe, that the province of Guatiaba lying next to Cuba, and the distance between the two points being only eighteen leagues, many of the Indians of Hispaniola had passed over in their canoes, and among them a cacique of the province of Guatiaba, called Hatuey, a man of bravery and prudence, who took as many of his men as possible, and settled on the nearest country, called Mayci, where he treated his people as subjects, and not as slaves. This cacique, fearing that the Spaniards would one time or other pass into Cuba, kept spies in order to know what was doing in Hispaniola. Being at length informed of the admiral's design, he assembled the most warlike of his people, and putting them in mind of the many sufferings they had endured under the Spaniards, told them, that they committed these outrages for the sake of a great lord, of whom they were very fond, and whom he would show them; then taking some gold out of a little palm-tree casket, added, "This is the lord

whom they adore, him they follow; and, as you have already heard, they are coming hither in search of him: let us therefore make a festival, and dance to him, that when they come he may order them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to sing and dance; for their dances, like those of Hispaniola, were performed to the music of their songs. At length Hatuey reminded them, that though they should conceal this lord of the Christians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out, and that they should therefore cast him into the midst of the river, which was accordingly done.

The Spanish inhabitants of Hispaniola were no sooner informed that Diego Velasquez was going to plant a colony in Cuba, than many of them resolved to accompany him, and about three hundred men assembled in the town of Salvatierra de la Zavanna, at the extremity of Hispaniola, in order to embark on board four ships. From thence they sailed in November, 1511, and landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the cacique Hatuey, who stood on his defence, taking advantage of the woods, where the Spaniards could make no use of their horses. After two months spent in this manner, the Indians concealed themselves in the thickest parts of the forests; but whenever they appeared they were hunted, like wild beasts, by the Spaniards, who carried all they took to Velasquez, when that commander distributed them among his men, not as slaves but as servants. Hatuey withdrew to the most inaccessible places; but at length had the misfortune to be taken and carried to Velasquez, who had the cruelty to cause the unhappy cacique to be burnt alive: upon which all the province of Mayci submitted; for after this

inhuman example of severity, none of the Indians dared to oppose him. Velasquez now began to think of dividing the native Indians among the Spaniards, as Obando had done by those in Hispaniola, and for that purpose he founded a town at a harbour in the north side of the island, at a place called by the natives Barracoa; and here the first colony in the island was settled.

On its being known in Jamaica that Velasquez was in Cuba, many of those who were with Juan de Esquibel, Columbus's lieutenant, asked leave to go over and serve under him, among whom was Pamphilio de Narvaez, who brought thirty archers under his command, and having a graceful person and an easy address, was well received by Velasquez, who sent him with his thirty men to the province of Bayamo, a fine open country, at fifty leagues distance. On the road he and his small party were attacked in the night at an Indian town, by a considerable body of the natives; but mounting a mare which he had brought with him, they were so frightened at the sight of that animal, and at hearing the bells, which at that time were part of the trappings of the Spanish horses, that they fled far into the country, and Velasquez sending a detachment to join Narvaez, he with the greatest ease became absolute master of that province.

The fine and extensive island of Cuba, which is situated between 20 and 23 degrees north latitude, is upwards of 800 miles in length, from east to west, and generally about 70 broad. It lies about 50 miles west of Hispaniola, and 75 north of Jamaica. To the south are a great number of small islands, to which Christopher Columbus gave the name of the Queen's Garden, and to the north are

a smaller number, which Velasquez named the King's Garden. The whole island of Cuba is very pleasant, and more temperate than Hispaniola. On the easternmost point, there are mountains of a very great height, which extend 90 miles, and through the middle runs a ridge of hills, from east to west, which give rise to very fine rivers and brooks, that flow north and south, watering the plain champaign countries, to the sea. It has many fine harbours, particularly on the southern coast, where there are that of St. Jago, in the form of a cross; that of Xaquas, to which the ships pass through a narrow mouth not above a cross-bow shot over, and then turn into the open part, which is about ten leagues in compass, and where there are three small islands, so situated, that ships may be moored to the shore, under shelter of the mountains, and lie safe from the winds blowing from any point of the compass. On the north side are also several good harbours, the best of which is that now called the Havannah.

This island, at the arrival of the Spaniards, was covered with trees of various sorts, particularly red cedars, storax trees, and vines, the stems of which were as thick as a man's body, and fruit-trees; yet it produced Indian corn in greater quantities than any other part of the West Indies. It was also stocked with abundance of birds, pigeons, partridges, flamingoes and parroquets. There were few land animals, except a kind of rabbits, like those of Hispaniola; but there were abundance of turtle; and the sea and rivers abounded with fish.

After the Spaniards had been settled there some time, they found considerable quantities of gold in the rivers, some of which was very pure, but the

greatest part of less value than that of Hispaniola, or Porto Rico.

Don Diego de Velasquez having reduced the best part of Cuba, and planted several Spanish colonies therein, became desirous of shaking off the authority of Diego Columbus, which the admiral unsuccessfully opposed. Velasquez, indeed, was still left accountable to him for the exercise of his authority, but he was not allowed to recal him without the consent of the crown of Spain, which so well answered Velasquez's purpose, that he resolved immediately to execute a project he had long meditated, of fitting out ships for making discoveries; and no sooner were his intentions known, than numbers of the Spanish planters offered to contribute large sums towards carrying it into execution, among whom was Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a person of great wealth and bravery, who offered to go as captain, which was accepted.

Cordova having fitted up two ships and a brigantine, took 110 soldiers on board, and sailed from the Havannah on the 8th of February, 1517. After being twenty-two days at sea, during which they lay to in the night, they saw land. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared; the Spaniards hailed them, and thirty Indians went on board Cordova's ship, dressed in jackets without sleeves, and pieces of cloth wrapped about their waists. The Spaniards gave them meat, wine, and strings of beads, after which the Indians retiring, made signs that they would return the next day, seeming much to admire the ships, the men, their clothes, arms, and every thing they beheld.

The next day the Indians returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the cacique, who

cried out, Conez catoche, or, Come to my house; whence that place received the name of Cape Catoche. The Spaniards then took their arms and went ashore, where an infinite number of the natives waited to see them: Cordova even resolved to attend the cacique to his house, in order to take a view of the country; but entering a wood, the cacique gave a signal, and instantly a multitude of men started from an ambuscade in which they had been concealed. They were dressed in jackets of quilted cotton, to secure them from being wounded by arrows, and had wooden swords edged with flint, spears, bows and arrows, slings and targets: their faces were painted of several colours, and on their heads they wore plumes of feathers. These, giving a loud shout, discharged a shower of stones and arrows, and then rushing on the Spaniards, fought with much resolution, until being disordered by the discharge of the muskets and cross-bows, they fled, after having seventeen men killed, and many wounded. In this action were taken two youths, who afterwards became Christians, and were called Julian and Melchior.

The Spaniards now returned to their ships, and were pleased at their having found people in many respects different from those they had hitherto seen, and particularly at their having observed houses built with stone and lime, which were the first that had been observed in that part of the world. They now continued their course along the coast fifteen days, and then entering a bay, landed, in order to take in fresh water. This place being called by the Indians Quimpeche, it thence obtained the name of Campeche. They here filled their casks with fresh water, and returning to the ships, were met

by fifty Indians, dressed like those they had seen before, who asked them, whether they came from the place where the sun rises, and conducted them to some temples built with stone, where the Spaniards observed several deformed idols, with blood fresh spilled, and from one of these temples came two men in white mantles, with long black hair twisted up in rolls behind, holding in their hands little earthen fire-pans, into which they cast a certain gum, and then perfuming the Spaniards, ordered them to depart the country on pain of death.

They now steered six days along the coast, and landed at about a league's distance from a town called Potonchan, where, filling their casks with water, they observed a body of armed men advancing towards them, but, it growing dark, they returned to the town. The Spaniards now rashly resolved to stay on shore; but in the night were greatly alarmed by the noise made by the Indians, and, at break of day perceived that the first party had been joined by several others, and that they were entirely surrounded by a great body. They, however, resolved to make the best defence in their power, and were quickly under the necessity of exerting all their courage; for it no sooner grew light than the Indians discharged a shower of arrows, darts and stones, by which about eighty Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova. Finding it impossible to vanquish such numbers, the Spaniards made a furious onset, broke through the Indians, and ran towards the boats, the Indians pursuing them with hideous cries. The boats narrowly escaped being overset by their crowding into them, and the natives were so furious, that they pursued them into the water. In this action forty-seven

Spaniards were killed, five died on board the ship, and all that landed, except one, were wounded. It was therefore resolved to burn one of the ships for want of hands, and to return to Cuba.

The want of water, however, compelled them to steer for Florida. They here landed near a creek, and having obtained a supply of this indispensible article, were about to return, when one of the sentinels having stepped aside with a hatchet to cut down a palmetto-tree, the other heard him cry out, and instantly ran to give the alarm, crying, to sea! to sea! the Indians are coming! Many canoes were instantly seen rowing down the creek, filled with Indians armed with bows and arrows, swords and spears, who landing, let fly their arrows, and wounded six of the soldiers; but soon perceiving the dreadful effects produced by the muskets and crossbows, ran back to their canoes, when the Spaniards immediately returned to their ships, and put to sea. After enduring many other hardships, they arrived at the Havannah, from whence Cordova sent a particular account of his unfortunate voyage to the governor, Diego Velasquez, and died of his wounds ten days after his arrival.

Notwithstanding Cordova's ill success, his account of this voyage gave great pleasure to Velasquez, who resolved to pursue these discoveries as soon as an opportunity offered; since as these seemed more civilized than any other Indians, they were probably richer. This resolution was no sooner known, than several of the principal inhabitants offered him their assistance, which soon enabled him to send out three ships and a brigantine.

This small squadron was commanded by John Grijalva, and the captains Alverado, Montejo and

d'Avila, who had strict orders to make what discoveries they could, but to attempt no settlements. They sailed from Cuba on the 8th of May, 1511, and having visited Florida, and discovered the island of Coxumel, proceeded along the coast of the continent. Eight days after they reached Potonchan's town, and came to anchor, upon which the natives, being elated with their success in driving Cordova's men out of the country, took up arms, and ran to the shore, which the Spaniards no sooner reached, than they discharged a shower of arrows, darts and stones, and with great intrepidity ran into the water to wound the invaders with their spears; but the latter were no sooner landed, than rushing upon them sword in hand, they made them give way; for the Spaniards being now taught by experience, began to use loose cotton jackets, like those of the Indians, as a defence against their arrows: however, three of them were killed, and sixty wounded, among whom was Grijalva. But the boats coming to their assistance, with the remainder of the soldiers who had been left on board, the Indians quitted the field, and the Spaniards marched to the town, where they found only three of the natives; these they used well, and sent them with some toys to allure the inhabitants back; but these messengers never returned, upon which they embarked and again set sail.

Grijalva now continuing his course by day, and lying by in the night, for fear of falling among flats and rocks, discovered the mouth of a large river, but so shallow that it would only admit small vessels, and therefore they could only send up two of their boats, well manned, who were obliged to proceed with great circumspection, on account of

there being many armed Indians in canoes along the shore.

This river, which the natives called Tabasco, the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, from their commander, and landed at a grove of palm-trees, about half a league from a town. The Indians seeing them leave their boats, about fifty canoes, full of armed men, moved forward, and stopped again at a small distance from the Spaniards; upon which the latter sent Melchior and Julian, the two Indians taken by Cordova, to inform them that they were come with no other view, but to treat with them about some affairs that would give them pleasure. Upon this the Indians, in four canoes, drew near, and Grijalva ordered the above interpreters to tell them, that he and his men were the subjects of a great king, to whom mighty princes paid obedience; that they also should submit to him, because it would be much to their advantage; and that until the Spaniards could explain these affairs, they must furnish them with provisions. To this the Indians prudently replied, that they would give them provisions; but that they had a lord of their own, and knew no reason why they, who were but strangers, should offer to impose a new lord upon them. However, that they ought to take heed how they made war on them, as they had done on the people of Potonchan; for they were not so weak as those people. They concluded with observing, that they were come thither to know their will, and would make a very just report of what was said to a number of very great men, who were assembled to treat of peace or war. Grijalva then gave them strings of beads, looking-glasses, and other things, charging them to bring back an answer, because if they

did not, he must go to the town, though he should not do it any harm. Having thus concluded the conference, he returned to the ships.

These persons having delivered the message, all the chiefs, who were usually consulted in martial affairs, thought peace preferable to war, and immediately sent a number of Indians, loaded with roasted fish, poultry, bread, and several sorts of fruit. These being delivered, they laid some mats on the ground, and placed upon them several sorts of very beautiful feather works. After which they let the Spaniards know, that their lord would come the next day to pay them a visit.

Accordingly, at the time appointed, the cacique appeared, attended by many unarmed men, and, without showing the least jealousy, went on board Grijalva's ship. He was a genteel man, about twenty-eight years of age, and had on a loose coat of crimson velvet, a cap of the same, with other rich ornaments. He received the cacique with respect, and sitting down, they began their discourse, of which both parties understood very little, except by words interpreted by Julian and Melchior. After some time, the cacique ordered an Indian to take out of a trunk he carried, some plates of gold, and thin boards covered with the same metal for armour. These the cacique himself tied upon Grijalva, taking off those that did not fit, and applying others, until he had put on him a complete suit of gold armour. He also presented him various works in fine gold and feathers. In return Grijalva called for a very fine shirt, and with his own hands put it on the cacique, as he did also his great coat of crimson velvet. He then put on his feet a pair of new shoes; and gave him some of the best strings

of beads and looking-glasses, with scissars, knives, and several toys made of tin, some of which he also gave to his attendants. The cacique's present to Grijalva was worth about three thousand pieces of eight, and among the rest was a wooden head-piece, covered with thin plates of gold, and three or four masks, some of which were covered with a sort of stones like emeralds. The sight of these things made the Spaniards very eager to settle in a country that produced such vast wealth.

Grijalva having received this considerable present, and being sensible that the Indians were not willing that their guests should stay long, proceeded farther, and in two days came to a town called Agualunco, which the Spaniards named le Rambla, where the inhabitants appeared at a distance, with targets of tortoise-shell, which glittering in the sun made some of the Spaniards fancy they were made of gold.

Sailing from thence the Spaniards saw several other rivers, in one of which they observed the Indians waving large pieces of white cloth, fastened to poles, as if inviting them to land: whereupon Grijalva ordered captain de Montejo to go ashore with all the musketeers.

It is necessary to observe, that this coast was part of the great empire of Mexico, and that Montezuma, who was then seated on the throne, having heard of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the pains they took to become acquainted with the maritime parts of his empire, began to grow uneasy, and desirous to know why they took such pains to learn the state of countries that did not belong to them. To obtain this intelligence, he had given directions to the governors of some of

these provinces, to entertain these strangers civilly, and to send him from time to time such an account of their motions, as might enable him clearly to discern what opinion he ought to entertain of them.

As soon, therefore, as Montejo and his men were landed, the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread and fruit, and perfumed the Spaniards by burning gum copal in little fire-pans. Montejo instantly sent advice to Grijalva of the friendly manner in which he was received, upon which that commander came up with the ships, landed, and gave the people some glass beads and necklaces. He was treated with great respect by the emperor of Mexico's governor, and his principal officers, who ordering the Indians to bring gold to barter, the Spaniards, during the six days they stayed there, purchased gold toys of several shapes, to the value of 15,000 pieces of eight.

At length Grijalva having made presents to the principal persons, and taken possession of the country for the king of Spain, in the name of Diego Velasquez, embarked, and touched at several islands. Having landed in one of them, with fifty soldiers, he found a temple, in which were several idols, and four men dressed in long black mantles with hoods, who were the priests of the temple, and had that very day sacrificed two boys, who were found ripped open, and their hearts taken out. To this island, which was called Ulua, Grijalva gave the name of St. John Baptist, but it has ever since been called St. John de Ulua, to distinguish it from St. John de Porto Rico.

Grijalva having staid seven days at this island, during which he bartered for a small quantity of gold, sent Velasquez an account of his discove-

ries by Alverado, with all the gold and other things they had obtained from the Indians. Velasquez was highly pleased with the account he received; but Alverado being very desirous of settling a colony, gave him very ill impressions of Grijalva, who had served him faithfully, and paid the strictest regard to his orders. In the mean time Grijalva coasted along in sight of the mountains of Tuspa, and afterwards sailed to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the name of St. Anthony, and there careened one of the ships that was leaky. While they were here many Indians came from the town, at a league's distance, with bread, poultry, and other provisions, which they sold for Spanish toys: and others came from Guazacoallo, and the rest of the neighbouring towns, bringing provisions, and very bright copper axes, with painted handles.

From this place Grijalva set sail for Cuba, and in forty-five days arrived at the port of Mantancas in that island, with gold to the amount of four thousand pieces of eight, besides what had been brought by Alverado. Here Grijalva received a letter from the governor, ordering him to hasten to the port of St. Jago, and to inform the men that another fleet was fitting out, in order to make a settlement. On his arrival at St. Jago, he met with a very cool reception from Velasquez, who had even the folly to abuse him for having so strictly obeyed his orders in not making a settlement. Grijalva contented himself with showing the instructions he had received, which Velasquez considered as a tacit censure on himself, and gave the command of the fleet to Hernando Cortes, which brings us to his celebrated expedition.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO,

BY

HERNANDO CORTES.

CHAP. I.

Hernando Cortes appointed commander of a fleet for making new discoveries. He sails from Cuba, and lands in the island of Cozumel, where he destroys the Indian idols. Sails from Cozumel, and arrives at the river Grijalva; lands, and takes the town of Tabasco; concludes a peace with the Indians, and continues his voyage to Mexico.

HERNANDO CORTES was a native of Medelin, a town of Estremadura, in Spain, and being educated for a military life, resolved to push his fortune, in the West Indies, whither he sailed in the year 1504, with letters of recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando, his kinsman, at that time governor of Hispaniola. This gentleman gave him a very kind reception, and admitted him into the number of his friends; but these favours could not divert his inclination to arms; and that island being now possessed by the Spaniards, without any opposition from the natives, he obtained leave to serve in the island of Cuba, where the war was carried on. There he so distinguished himself as to obtain the reputation of a valiant soldier and able commander; and was made alcaid, or chief magistrate, of the town of St. Jago, a post generally conferred on those who distinguished themselves in the conquest of

those countries. Cortes was in this situation when he was recommended to Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, as a proper person for making conquests on the continent; and the governor giving his approbation, a commission was signed, by which he was appointed captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries he should discover and subdue.

Cortes immediately made the necessary preparations for the enterprise. He employed his own fortune, and all the money he could borrow, in the purchase of provisions, arms and ammunition; and enlisted soldiers with such expedition, that within a few days he had above three hundred men in his service; he also equipped ten small vessels, from eighty to one hundred tons each, with which he sailed from the port of St. Jago, by Cuba, on the 18th of November, 1518, and coasting along the island arrived at the port of La Trinidad, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, who resolved to follow his fortune. He thence steered with the fleet for the Havannah, leaving Pedro de Alverado, with a party of soldiers to take care of the horses, and raise recruits in the settlements; but in the night, the Capitana, in which Cortes embarked, separated from the rest, which continued their course to the port of Havannah. Having staid here several days without hearing any news of Cortes, they concluded he was lost, and began to deliberate on choosing another commander, but were prevented by his arrival, when he was received with the loud acclamations of his men, and treated with great respect by the governor.

Here Cortes deemed it necessary to take additional precautions in order to insure success in his important expedition. He caused a number of cot-

ton quilts to be made, to defend his people from the darts and arrows of the Indians, it being found that these were more useful than coats of mail. He proved his artillery, exercised his soldiers in the use of their fire-arms and cross-bows, as well as in the management of their pikes, and taught them to form and file off, in order to make an attack and retreat. But while he was thus employed, a messenger arrived with dispatches to the governor of Havannah containing express orders to deprive Cortes of his command, and to send him prisoner with a strong guard to St. Jago. Cortes was highly incensed at this behaviour of Velasquez, and at the attempt to ruin an enterprize, in which he and his friends had embarked their whole fortunes; he therefore resolved to provide for himself, and to make use of force, if it was necessary; he explained his situation to his soldiers, and they raised such a tumult, that the governor of Havannah, dreading the consequence of their resentment, publicly declared, that he did not intend to execute the orders he had received from Velasquez, which he considered as a flagrant act of injustice. The commotion being appeased, and a brigantine added to the fleet, Cortes divided his men into eleven companies, delivered instructions to his officers, and, after a solemn mass, at which all the soldiers assisted, set sail from Havannah on the 10th of February, 1519.

They had this day a favourable gale, but the sun was no sooner set than a furious storm arose, which damaged the fleet. Cortes had before sent Diego de Ordaz, whose fidelity he suspected, to Guanicanico, a settlement on the other side of cape St. Antonio; and, a little before the storm, he sent

Pedro de Alverado in quest of him, with orders to wait for the fleet at cape St. Antonio; but Pedro perceiving that the tempest had driven him so far into the gulf, as to render it difficult for him to weather cape St. Antonio, steered away for the island of Cozumel, where he landed, and found a small town near the coast, which was abandoned by the Indians, who had fled at his approach. Alverado was a young man, of an enterprising genius, but of little experience; and imagined that, while he waited for the fleet which was to cast anchor at that island, nothing could so ill become a soldier as inaction; he therefore ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner part of the island. At a league's distance they came up to another town, which was abandoned like the first. Here the soldiers seized some provisions, and, in a temple of one of their idols, they found many jewels, and some instruments for sacrificing, made of gold mixed with copper, which, though of small value, they carried away. However, this expedition was so far from promoting the service in which they were engaged, that it only served to frighten the Indians, and to render it more difficult to obtain their friendship and assistance.

The next day Cortes arrived with the fleet, having sent another vessel with directions to Ordaz, on a supposition that Alverado had been prevented by the storm; and though he was glad to find that young captain safe at Cozumel, he publicly reprimanded him for his rashness in marching up and down the island, and dismissed three Indian prisoners whom he had taken, after having ordered their effects to be restored, and given them many presents for their cacique, in token of peace and amity.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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The meeting between Cortes & the Principal Cacique & Inhabitants of Cozumel.

T. Martyn Sculp.

Dublin Published by J. Christie 17 Rose Lane

To prevent any new disputes, he formed an encampment at the sea-side, where he mustered his forces, when it appeared that his whole army amounted to 508 soldiers, including their officers, 16 horse, 2 chaplains, and 109 mariners and mechanics. Cortes, at the same time, endeavoured to inspire them with courage, by the promise of wealth and honour; explained the dangers they must expect to encounter, and, in the strongest terms, represented the necessity of a strict obedience and the most perfect unanimity.

At the conclusion of this address, a considerable number of unarmed Indians approached in several detached parties, on which he commanded his men to remain under arms, until it was known what was their intention. The Indians continued for some time without advancing, but perceiving that no hostilities were offered, they boldly mingled with the soldiers, presented them with some refreshments, and continued to behave with great confidence and familiarity.

The next day the principal cacique of the island came, with a numerous retinue, to pay a visit to Cortes, who received him with great courtesy; and while the conversation was carried on by means of an interpreter, one of the Indians was heard to pronounce the word Castilla, the meaning of which being demanded by Cortes, he was told that the Indian said the Spaniards resembled some persons in Yucatan, who came from a country called Castilla. Cortes immediately concluded that these were his countrymen, and, on a more particular inquiry he found, that they were in the power of some Indians of the highest rank, who resided at Yucatan. In order to procure their freedom, Diego

de Ordaz sailed to the coast of Yucatan, with a letter to the prisoners, and some trifles for their ransom, and directions to stay eight days, in which time some Indians, appointed by the cacique for that purpose, undertook to return with an answer. In the mean time Cortes marched with the troops in a body about the island, in order to view the country, and keep his men in action, accompanied by the cacique, and a great number of Indians, who furnished him with provisions, and exchanged gold for glass beads, which they fancied they could never purchase too dear.

At a small distance from the coast stood the temple of an idol, that was much revered by the Indians. It was a square stone building, and no contemptible structure. The idol, which was called Cozumel, whence the island received the same name, was in the figure of a man, and had a most horrid aspect. Here a great concourse of people were found listening to a priest, who was distinguished by a certain ornament or covering, which scarcely concealed his nakedness, and who seemed to preach with great emphasis. Cortes, shocked at the absurdity of such worship, told the cacique, that it was impossible for them to continue friends, if he did not renounce his idolatry; and that it was unworthy of a man of sense to pay divine honours to a deformed image, fitter to frighten children than to be reverenced by men of understanding. The cacique replied, that as to religion he left it wholly to the priests, who should, if he pleased, discourse with him on that subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the priests being sent for, no sooner was informed of the affair in question, than he began with the most hideous outcries to protest

against those who should be so audacious as to disturb the worship of their gods, denouncing the immediate vengeance of heaven against all who should presume to dishonour this deity, or his habitation. But Cortes, without paying any regard to his menaces, immediately ordered all the idols to be broke to pieces, and most of their temples to be demolished. The largest of them, however, he preserved entire, and having caused a neat altar to be erected, had mass celebrated.

When the eight days were expired, Diego de Ordaz returned from Yucatan, without seeing any thing of the Castilians, for whom he was sent. Cortes therefore set sail with a fair wind; but was obliged to return the same day on account of one of the ships having sprung a leak.

While this ship was refitting, Cortes was told that a canoe was standing directly towards the island, when perceiving that she was full of armed Indians, he ordered Andrea de Tapia to get as much as possible under the shelter of the land, and endeavour to take the canoe. Soon after four men came out of it, with only a slight covering about their waists, and with bows and arrows in their hands. Andrea de Tapia, as soon as the Indians were landed, advanced towards them sword in hand, when three of them seeming afraid, the fourth bid them not fear, and addressing himself to the Spaniards, cried aloud, in the Castilian tongue, Gentlemen, I am a Christian. Tapia immediately embraced him with equal joy and surprise, and conducted him to Cortes, who received him with much affection, while his Indian companions couched down on their hams, and laying their bows and arrows on the ground, moistened their right hands with spittle, touched

the earth, and then stroked their breasts near the heart; this being the most respectful ceremony they paid to their princes. Cortes having asked the name of the stranger, he replied that he was called Jerome de Aguilar, and was a native of Eija. Meat and drink were then set before him, and he was ordered to be clothed.

The next day Cortes inquired how he fell into the hands of the Indians, when he replied, that being at Darien, he was sent to Hispaniola for men and ammunition, but was cast away near Jamaica, when he and twenty other persons taking to the boat, after suffering great distresses, reached the shore of Yucatan, where they fell into the hands of a cacique, who immediately sacrificed six of them to his idols, and then eat them. That he and some others were reserved for another festival; but escaped into the dominions of another prince, an enemy to him from whom they had fled.

The fleet set sail from Cozumel on the 4th of March, 1519, and reached the river of Grijalva, where the civil treatment which the Spaniards had formerly received from the Indians of Tabasco, and the gold brought from thence, were such motives for their landing as could not be resisted. Cortes, therefore, leaving the larger vessels at anchor, embarked all his soldiers on board the smaller vessels and boats, and was beginning to make the best of his way against the current, when he perceived both sides of the river covered with canoes filled with armed Indians, supported by a considerable force on shore. Perceiving from the horrible outcries and gesticulations of the Indians, that they intended to oppose him, he sent Aguilar to them in a canoe with offers of peace, which being rejected,

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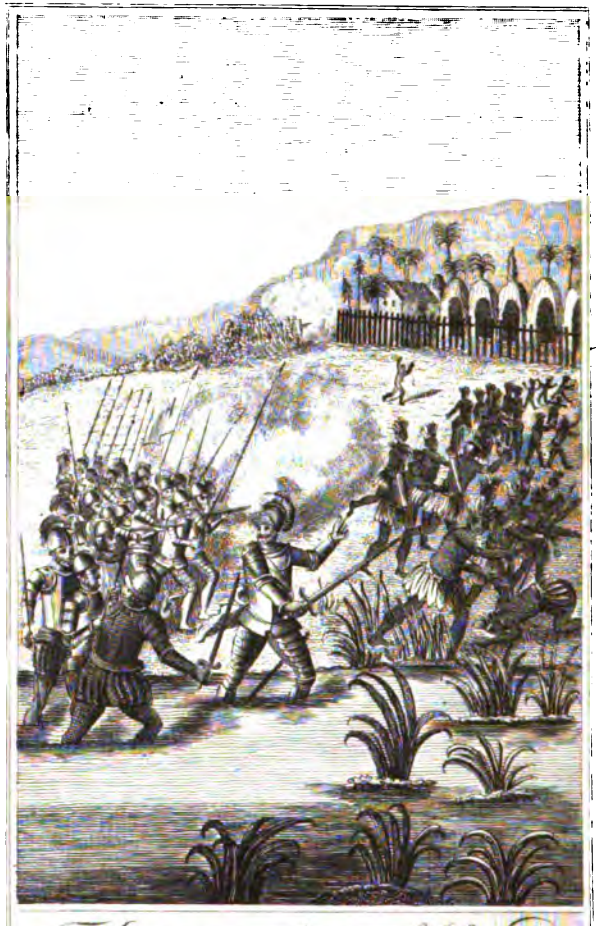

The Engagement between the Spaniards and People of Tobasco.

Maguire Sc.

Dublin, Published by J. Christie 17, Rafs Lane.

he resolved to punish them for what he called their presumption, in daring to defend their country. But night approaching, he thought proper to wait until the next day, and, in the mean time commanded all the artillery to be brought into the smaller vessels, and his soldiers to put on their quilted coats, to secure them from being wounded by the arrows of the enemy.

At day-break he drew up the vessels in the figure of a half-moon, and advancing slowly to the Indians, sent Aguilar a second time with proposals of peace, to which they made no answer, but giving the signal for the attack, advanced with great swiftness by the favour of the current, until being near enough to use their arrows, they discharged such a shower of them, that the Spaniards were much embarrassed in their endeavours to cover themselves. However, having received the first charge, they assaulted the Indians with such vigour, that the canoes soon left the passage free. The vessels then proceeded up the river without further opposition, and approaching the shore, endeavoured to land, but the place being marshy and covered with brambles, the Spaniards were assaulted by a number of Indians who lay in ambush. However, Cortes ordered Alonzo Davila to advance with one hundred soldiers through the woods, and take possession of the town of Tabasco, which was not far from the place of action; he then commenced the attack, and notwithstanding his being obliged to fight up to the knees in mud, he put the Indians to flight, who, discovering the march of Davila, ran to defend the town.

Cortes followed them to Tabasco, which he reached before the detachment he had sent thither, and found it fortified with a wall formed of large

trunks of trees fixed in the ground like palisades, with spaces between for the convenience of shooting arrows. It was of a circular compass, and at the closing of the circle the extremity of one line covered the other, forming a narrow winding street, in which were two or three wooden castles that filled up the passage. This was then a sufficient fortification against the inhabitants of the new world, who were happily ignorant of the arts of war, and the methods of destruction practised by polite nations.

Cortes being joined by Davila, whose march had been obstructed by lakes and marshes, gave proper instructions for breaking down the palisades, and instantly gave the signal to begin the attack, crying, 'My friends, here we must lodge to-night.' The soldiers proceeded with great resolution, and turning aside a shower of arrows with their shields, advanced to the fortification, and discharging their fire-arms and cross-bows through the openings, soon drove the enemy from their posts, and then breaking down a part of the palisades, entered without difficulty. The Indians, however, made head against the Spaniards in the streets, but were embarrassed by their own numbers, and being driven from thence, made a vigorous effort in a wide space in the centre of the town; but being again repulsed, fled in great disorder to the woods, whither Cortes would not allow his men to pursue them.

In this action, fourteen or fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded, but the loss of the Indians was very considerable. The troops lodged that night in the town, in which sentinels were posted with as much care and exactness as if an army had been in

view; but the next day the country appeared deserted, and there was not an enemy to be seen. Cortes, however, suspected this stillness; and his apprehensions increased, by his being informed that Melchio, his interpreter, one of the Indians taken by Cordova, had deserted, leaving his clothes hanging on a tree.

Cortes now sent Pedro de Alverado, and Francisco de Lugo, with a hundred men each, by different ways, to view the country, with orders to retire in case they found an army in the field; but the latter fell into an ambuscade, and was so furiously attacked on all sides, that he was obliged to draw up his little battalion into a square; and the number of the enemy increasing, his detachment would certainly have been overpowered, had not Alverado, who had been obliged to turn out of his way by meeting a marsh, heard the report of the fire-arms, and hastened to his relief. Alverado attacked the Indians, when Lugo was in the greatest distress, his men being quite spent with fatigue, and made his attack with such resolution, that the Indians fled with the utmost consternation; but soon after recovering from their surprise, they endeavoured to prevent the retreat of the two captains, who were compelled to cut their way through a vast multitude of the inhabitants, which resembled the rolling of the sea when the waves are driven back by the wind. At length Cortes appeared at a distance, and, being observed by the Indians, they dispersed.

Some prisoners being taken on this occasion, Cortes caused them to be examined by Jerome de Aguilar, when they agreed in declaring, that all the caciques in the neighbouring countries were

marching to the assistance of the inhabitants of Tabasco, and that the next day a powerful army was to be assembled, in order to destroy the Spaniards at once. On this intelligence Cortes called a council, communicated to his captains what he had learned, and desired their advice; representing the weakness of their naked enemies, the ill consequences that would attend their turning their backs upon them, and that this would be such a disgrace, as would prevent all their future conquests. On which the officers unanimously agreed, that it was absolutely necessary not to leave the country until they had reduced the inhabitants.

Cortes now proceeded to make the necessary dispositions for a decisive battle: he ordered the wounded to be carried on board; the horses to be landed; the artillery to be in readiness, and every thing in order by the next morning. At day-break he gave the command of the infantry to Diego de Ordaz, when he and the other commanders mounted on horseback, and kept pace with the artillery, which moved very slowly, from the ground being boggy, until arriving at a place called Cinthla, about a distance of a league from their quarters, they observed the Indian army appear at a distance, and in such numbers as to cover the country as far as the eye could reach.

It may not be improper here to describe the Indian arms, with their manner of marching and coming to an engagement, since as the art of war is nearly the same in all the nations of New Spain, this will be sufficient to give the reader some idea of their appearance through the whole of this conquest. Their principal weapons were bows and arrows; the strings of the bows being made of the sinews

of beasts, or thongs of deer-skins twisted, and their arrows were pointed with fish-bones. They had a kind of javelin, which they sometimes threw, and sometimes managed like a pike. They had also long two-handed wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; some of the strongest had clubs pointed with flints, and there were slingers who threw stones with great force and dexterity. Their defensive arms, which were worn by none but commanders and persons of distinction, consisted of coats of quilted cotton, breast-plates, and shields of wood and tortoise-shell, adorned with plates and metal. The rest of the people were naked, only their heads were encircled with plumes of feathers, and all of them had their faces and bodies painted of various colours. They made their attacks with terrible outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their enemies. Their battalions were formed without order; but they had bodies of reserve to relieve the others when there was occasion; and, though they were divided into companies commanded by their respective officers, those officers could scarcely govern their men; for when they came to engage, they were animated either by rage or fear, and consequently were equally eager to charge or to run away.

Such was the army, or rather inundation of Indians, which now poured down upon the Spaniards. Cortes posted his men under the shelter of a rising ground that covered the rear, and having placed his artillery to the greatest advantage, advanced with his fifteen horse to a wood, from whence he intended to sally, and flank the enemy.

When the Indians had marched within a proper distance, they discharged a shower of arrows, and

then fell upon the Spaniards with such fury and precipitation, that their fire-arms and cross-bows being unable to stop them, they were obliged to have recourse to their swords, and as the enemy pressed on, the artillery destroyed them by whole companies. But the Indians fought with such bravery, that the ball was no sooner past than they closed again, drowning the groans of the wounded by their outcries. Diego de Ordaz acted with great courage: but his troops could scarcely stand their ground, when Cortes with his fifteen horse rushing suddenly from the wood, broke through the thickest of the enemy, whom he trampled under his horses feet, while they, being amazed and terrified at the sight of those unknown animals, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation immediately.

The next day Cortes ordered two or three of the Indian officers, who were prisoners, to be brought before him, and perceiving that their countenances had all the marks of terror, gave them a courteous reception, and then set them at liberty, giving them some trifling presents, and telling them that he knew how to conquer and to forgive. This instance of his moderation had such an effect, that in a few hours, several of the natives came loaded with Indian corn, fowls, and other provisions, as a present from the principal cacique of Tabasco, who by these persons made proposals of peace; but Jerome de Aguilar observing that these were mean people, Cortes, though very desirous of peace, refused to receive their proposals, and sent them back without seeing them, ordering them to acquaint their cacique, that if he desired his friendship, he must send persons of greater distinction to solicit it.

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Donna Mariana & other female slaves presented to Cortes by the Cacique of Tobasco.

Maguire Sc.

Dublin, Published by J. Christie 17, First Lane.

The cacique being immediately sensible of his error, the next day sent thirty of his principal men, adorned with plumes and jewels, and followed by a train of Indians, who carried another present of the same kind to the Spanish general.

Cortes being attended by his officers, gave audience to these ambassadors, who approaching him with great submission, perfumed him with incense, composed of sweet-scented gums, made an apology for the war, and concluded with earnest intreaties for a peace. The general replied that he had just cause to be displeased with them: but granting their request, made them a present of a few baubles, at which they departed, highly satisfied with the success of their negociation.

Cortes was afterwards visited by the cacique in person, attended by all his officers, who brought with them a present of cotton cloths, plumes of various colours, and some pieces of gold of admirable workmanship. The general loaded him with caresses, and protestations of a reciprocal and sincere friendship. The Indians of distinction who were in his retinue, were treated by the Spanish captains, and nothing appeared but signs of joy and peace. At taking leave, the cacique appointed another day for an interview, and, to show his confidence in the general, ordered his subjects to return with their families to Tabasco, and to assist the Spaniards to the utmost of their power. The next day the cacique returned, with a present of twenty Indian women, one of whom was of uncommon beauty, and was afterwards baptized by the name of Mariana.

A friendly intercourse being thus established, Cortes sailed from Mexico on Palm Sunday, and arrived without accident at St. Juan de Ulua,

Soon after he cast anchor, two large canoes, called piraguas, came off to the ships, and the Indians addressed him in a language which his interpreter, Aguilar, did not understand. This embarrassment was removed by Mariana, who, being acquainted with the Mexican and Yucatan tongues, interpreted to Aguilar what the Mexican said, and he imparted it to Cortes. By this double interpretation the general learned, that Pilpatoe, governor, and Teutile, captain-general of that province, had sent to know with what intention they came on their coast: when Cortes presenting them with a few baubles, and treating them with some Spanish wine, told them, that he came as a friend, to treat of matters of great importance to their prince.

CHAP. II.

Cortes sends a present to Montezuma, and receives one from that prince. State of the Mexican empire. Mutinous disposition of the Spaniards. Cortes forms a settlement, marches to Quiabislan, concludes an alliance with the cacique of Zempoalla, seizes Montezuma's commissaries, forms a confederacy of the Indian caciques, builds Vera Cruz, and receives another deputation from Montezuma.

ON Good Friday the Spaniards landed, and having got their horses and artillery on shore, Cortes directed the soldiers to cut fascines, in order to intrench themselves, and to build a sufficient number of huts to shelter them from the excessive heat of the sun, when Teutile sending a great number of the natives, Cortes kept himself upon his guard, and planted his artillery in such a manner as to command the country. On Easter Day he was visited by Teutile and Pilpatoe, attended by a very

great retinue; he received them with extraordinary state, surrounded by his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being passed, and it being the hour of divine service, he conducted them into a large hut, and ordered Aguilar and Mariana to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the design of his voyage he ought to comply with the duty of his religion, and to recommend to the God of all other gods the success of his proposal. After service was over, Cortes returned to his quarters, where the two generals were entertained at dinner, in as splendid a manner as possible, and that being ended, he called his interpreters, and then with a determined air told them, that he came to treat with the emperor Montezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Austria, monarch of the East, on affairs of great importance, both with respect to himself and all his subjects; for this reason it was necessary for him to appear before his royal presence, to which he hoped to be admitted with all the respect due to the greatness of the king his master.

Cortes's guests appeared alarmed at this declaration, and, before they returned an answer, ordered their attendants to bring in the presents they had brought with them. Upon which twenty or thirty persons entered, loaded with provisions, fine cloth, feathers of various colours, and a large box, in which were several pieces of gold, curiously wrought. Then turning to Cortes, Teutile desired him to accept that small present from two of Montezuma's slaves, who had orders to entertain such strangers as landed upon his coast; but begged he would not think of prosecuting his design, it being no easy matter to speak with their prince. To this Corte replied, that kings never refused to hear the am-

bassadors of other princes, and that their business was to acquaint Montezuma with his arrival, and that he was resolved to see him before he left the country.

The Indian generals, confounded at this boldness, earnestly intreated him not to move from his quarters, until they had received Montezuma's answer; assuring him that, in the mean time, they would supply him with every thing necessary for the support of his soldiers.

During this conference, some Mexican painters were busily employed in drawing upon cotton cloths, the ships, soldiers, arms, artillery, horses, and whatever appeared remarkable, which they introduced into different landscapes, that were no way contemptible, either for the drawing or colouring. These pictures were designed to give Montezuma some idea of what appeared too extraordinary to be fully described by words; and here and there were placed some characters, which seemed to explain the picture.

Cortes being informed of what these painters were doing, went out to see them; when observing that these figures conveyed but a very inadequate idea of his military strength, he ordered to arms, and commanded the artillery to be made ready; then telling Teutile and Pilpatoe, that he would entertain them after the manner of his country, he mounted his horse, with his captains, who marched two and two, to the amazement of the Indians, who seeing such stately animals so obedient to their riders, imagined that there was something supernatural in those who could manage them with such ease and dexterity. Cortes then, dividing his troops into two bodies, fought a mock battle, which

created such astonishment and confusion among these people, by the fire of the musketry and artillery, that some fell down upon the ground, others ran away, and those who had most presence of mind, were fixed to the spot with terror and admiration. Cortes now endeavoured to dissipate their apprehensions, by assuring them, that these were only military diversions. The painters immediately began to represent the Spaniards armed and drawn up in ranks; the horses in the attitude of their exercises, and the artillery with fire and smoke. Meanwhile Cortes returned to his house with the two generals, and after having made them a present, prepared one for Montezuma, consisting of several polished looking-glasses, a holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet, adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair.

Teutile and Pilpatoe seeming much pleased with their entertainment, took their leave; but retiring only to a small distance, held a consultation, in which it was agreed, that the latter should remain on that spot, to observe the motions of the Spaniards. Pilpatoe's attendants immediately began to build houses, and a considerable village was formed in a few hours; but, lest Cortes should be offended at this step, he sent to inform him, that he staid there in order to be at hand to provide for his entertainment, and to supply his troops with provisions. Though Cortes guessed his real intention, he concealed his suspicions, and Pilpatoe continued to supply him with provisions in great plenty. Meanwhile Teutile dispatched messengers to Montezuma, with an account of what had happened, the pictures drawn by his order, and Cortes's present.

Montezuma was provided with a great number

of couriers, chosen from the swiftest of the Indians, and an answer was returned from Mexico, within seven days, though the distance from that city to Juan de Ulua amounted to sixty leagues. Montezuma's message to Cortes was brought by Teutile, with that prince's present, which was carried by a hundred Indians, and consisted of very fine cotton robes, and many curiosities formed of feathers, where the beautiful variety of the colours was so mixed and disposed, by the skill of the artist, that, without making use of artificial colours, or of the pencil, they formed curious pictures, and a very fine imitation of natural objects. They also brought a great number of bows, arrows, and targets made of the finest wood; two large circular plates, the one of gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, with the figure of the moon; a considerable quantity of precious stones, pieces of gold, gold collars, rings, pendants, and other ornaments of the same metal, in the shape of birds and beasts, so curiously wrought, that the workmanship seemed to exceed the value of the metal. These several articles being placed in order, on mats made of palm-tree leaves, Teutile turned to Cortes, and told him, by the interpreters, that the great emperor Montezuma had sent him these things in return for his present, and to show him how much he valued the friendship of the king his sovereign; but it was neither convenient nor possible at that time to admit him to his court. Cortes returned thanks for the present, and answered, that it was far from his design to be wanting in obedience to Montezuma, but that he could not dishonour a king, that was respected among the greatest princes in the world, by returning without fulfilling his orders.

Montezuma was at first incensed at Cortes's perseverance in his demand, and, in the first transports of his resentment, proposed instantly to destroy those insolent strangers, who presumed to dispute his will; but rage no sooner subsided, than it was succeeded by sorrow and consternation. He consulted his ministers, offered public sacrifices in the temples, and the marks of disturbance and confusion were visible in his whole behaviour.

The empire of Mexico was then in its greatest glory, having under its dominion a prodigious extent of country, governed either by Montezuma in person, or petty kings or caciques, his tributaries. It extended in length about 1,500 miles; in some parts it was 600 broad, and was, in general, a populous, plentiful and rich country. This empire, from a very small beginning, had risen to such a height of power and greatness in little more than 130 years. They were at first governed by a military chief; but in the progress of their conquests they chose for king him who had the greatest reputation for valour, without paying any other regard to hereditary succession than that of preferring those of the royal family, when they were not excelled by the merit of any other competitor.

The emperor, Montezuma, the second of the name, and the eleventh sovereign of Mexico, was of the royal blood. In his youth he had distinguished himself in war, which together with his exerting the arts of popularity, raised him to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. He had reigned fourteen years when Cortes arrived on his coast, and is represented by the Spanish writers, perhaps to palliate the cruelty of his conquerors, as one of the greatest tyrants recorded in history.

Juan Grijalva had landed in his dominions the year before; and, it is said, that about that time there happened many prodigies, which were supposed to presage the ruin of his empire; such as the appearance of a dreadful comet, the lake of Mexico overflowing its banks with great impetuosity, though the weather was calm and dry, and the people even imagined that they heard lamentable voices in the air, foretelling the dissolution of that empire. These signs and omens, some of which were, perhaps, invented, made a very deep impression on the mind of Montezuma, and disturbed his counsellors to such a degree, that, when they received a second message from Cortes, they concluded they were utterly ruined. Some, however, imagined, that the omens were warnings to prevent their destruction, by putting them on their guard: while others thought the Spaniards ought to be received with the respect due to creatures of a higher rank, who had given the most dreadful proofs of an amazing courage and an invincible power, supported by the thunder and lightning of heaven. Montezuma attended to their debates, and at length resolved to send another present to Cortes, with orders to leave the coast, and in case of refusal, to levy a powerful army, and to act against him with all his forces.

While Montezuma's court was employed in these deliberations, Francisco de Monteso, whom Cortes had sent to examine the coast, returned from his cruise, having found, at the distance of some leagues to the northward, a town called Quiabislan, situated in a fertile and well cultivated soil, near a bay, where the ships might ride at anchor in safety, under the shelter of some high rocks. This place

was about twelve leagues distant from St. Juan de Ulua, and Cortes was beginning to think of removing thither, when his resolution was suspended by the arrival of Teutile, with the principal captains of his troops, who came to him, burning incense in little perfuming pans, and, after the ceremony of fumigation, produced Montezuma's second present, which consisted of the same particulars as those of which the first had been composed, though in a smaller quantity, together with three green stones, resembling emeralds, to be presented to the king of Spain, as jewels of inestimable value. With these they delivered express orders to Cortes and his followers, to leave the country without delay; but the Spaniards still insisting that they would see the monarch in person, Teutile started up with marks of anger and confusion, and told Cortes that hitherto Montezuma had treated him as a guest, and it would be his own fault if he was used as an enemy. He then, without waiting for an answer, abruptly departed, and was followed by Pilpatoe and the rest of his attendants.

Cortes immediately ordered the guards to be doubled; and the next day the Spaniards had the mortification to find, that the Indians, who inhabited Pilpatoe's cabins, had retired; that those who used to bring them provisions were gone; and that there was not an Indian to be seen. The apprehension of their wanting necessaries now raised a spirit of discontent among the soldiers, which was fomented by some, who were friends to Velasquez. They began to exclaim, that Cortes, from mere ambition, pursued a rash design, without a force proportioned to the undertaking, which would infallibly end in his destruction, as well as in that of

his followers, unless they returned to Cuba, to refit the fleet and to reinforce the army.

Cortes was well acquainted with these murmurs; but, learning from his friends that the majority were on his side, he appeared before the malecontents; when Diego de Ordaz, in the name of the rest, remonstrated with some warmth, that as his forces were very unequal to the design of subduing a mighty empire, it was necessary to return to Cuba, where they might be reinforced in such a manner as would enable them to pursue this great design with some probability of success.

Cortes, though highly provoked at this advice, which opposed all his ambitious views, calmly replied, that those who complained must be weary of that uninterrupted success, which had exceeded their highest hopes; their success at Cozumel, and their victory at Tabasco; but that he had no inclination to lay the least restraint upon his soldiers, and, since they were unwilling to proceed, he would immediately prepare for their return to Cuba. He soon after gave directions for returning to that island, and ordered the captains to embark with their respective companies, that they might be ready to sail the next morning: but this declaration was no sooner made public, than his emissaries, according to the directions they had received, began to exclaim, with great warmth, that Cortes had deceived them, by professing that he was resolved to make a settlement in that country, which, notwithstanding their unexpected success, he was on the point of deserting; and, that if he had a mind to abandon the enterprise he might, with such as were willing to follow him, for they would soon find another who would assume the command. This

clamour was so artfully managed, that it brought over many of those who had espoused the contrary party; and they increased to such a degree, that some of Cortes's friends were obliged to interpose, in order to put a stop to the disturbance they themselves had raised. They commended the resolution of these men, and offered to desire Cortes to suspend the execution of his order; and, without giving them time to cool, went directly to their general, attended by many of the soldiers, in whose presence they told him, in a high strain, that the troops were on the point of mutinying, on account of the order he had given for their embarking, which, they supposed, was contrary to the advice of their captains, and unworthy of the courage of Spaniards, who ought to be overcome by no difficulties or dangers. Cortes concealed the joy he felt at the success of his expedient, and coolly replied, that he had been misinformed; that he would proceed with such as were willing, but would constrain none; and, therefore, would cause a ship to be provided for carrying back to Cuba those who wanted the courage to follow him and his friends. This reply was received with acclamations of joy, and had such an effect, that those who were dissatisfied carefully concealed their discontent.

Cortes had no sooner put a stop to the dissension, which had arisen among his people, than he was visited by five deputies from the cacique of Zempoalla, a neighbouring province, on the road to the place where he intended to remove his quarters, who came to offer him the friendship and alliance of their master. They differed in their habit from the Mexican chiefs, though like them they had rings in their ears and lips, to which hung jewels,

several days, during which none were allowed to visit them; afterwards their friends were admitted, and among the rest some of his confidants, who found means to reduce them to reason. He then suffered himself to be pacified, and so effectually conciliated their affections, that they afterwards stood by him with unshaken fidelity.

Cortes now ordered the ships to sail for the bay of Quiabislan, and marched thither with the troops. In a few hours he reached the river of Zempoalla, which the troops crossed in canoes, the horses by swimming. Soon after the army arrived at some houses, which they found entirely abandoned, without furniture or provisions; though the natives left in their temples several idols, with knives made of flint, and some remains of human victims. Here they first saw Mexican books, three or four of which were in the temples, and were supposed to contain the rites of their religion. These were made of thin varnished cloth, folded in leaves, and made up into volumes resembling ours.

The Spaniards having placed proper guards, took up their quarters in the best houses, and the next day continued their march; but saw not one person during the whole morning, until they entered some very agreeable meadows, when they met twelve of the natives, sent to Cortes by the cacique of Zempoalla, with a present of fowls and bread, and an invitation to his town, where quarters were provided for the Spaniards. Cortes dismissed six of the Indians, with thanks for the hospitality of their prince, and detained the rest as guides to the town, which they told him was at the distance of a day's journey. At night they staid in a small village, where they were kindly entertained by the inhabitants.

In the morning the troops marched towards Zempoalla, following their guides, though with all imaginable precaution; Cortes still doubting the sincerity of the Indians. Towards the evening, they were met by twenty Indians, coming from the town to receive Cortes, with an apology from the cacique, who was kept at home by a natural impediment. Zempoalla was a large city, that afforded a beautiful prospect: it was situated between two rivers; the buildings were of stone, whitened on the outside with a sort of shining lime, which at a distance had such a noble effect, that one of the scouts returned in haste to Cortes, crying aloud, that the walls were of silver. At their entering it, the streets were filled with a multitude of people, drawn together by curiosity, and the cacique himself appeared at the gate of his palace, supported by his attendants, for he was so extremely fat, that he could not move without much difficulty. A mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels, was thrown over his naked body, and he wore pendants in his ears and lips. He received Cortes in his arms, and desired him to repose himself after his journey, adding that he would visit him, and converse about their mutual interests. The troops then retired to the dwellings provided for them, where they were plentifully accommodated with provisions and other necessaries.

The cacique soon after sent a present to Cortes, of jewels, gold and curiosities, valued at nearly 2000 pezoes; and followed this present in person, carried in a chair on the shoulders of the chief of his family, attended by a splendid retinue. Cortes went out to receive him, and, retiring to a private apartment with him and the interpreters, expatiated upon the grandeur of the king of Spain, and the

errors of idolatry; telling him, that the design of his coming with his valiant troops was, to redress wrongs, to punish violence, and to vindicate the cause of reason and justice. He artfully touched on this subject, in order to draw him to complain of Montezuma, that he might discover what advantages he might expect to reap from his resentment against that prince. And indeed the words were no sooner pronounced, than the cacique began to utter his complaints, and to observe, that the neighbouring caciques groaned under the tyranny of Montezuma, who oppressed his tributaries, and caused himself to be adored by his subjects, as if he had been one of their gods; and concluded with observing, that he did not wish to engage Cortes in a quarrel with such a potent emperor, whose power was irresistible. Cortes immediately replied, that while he had justice on his side, he should pay but little regard to the power of Montezuma; but that he was on his march to Quiabislan, where the injured and oppressed should find him ready to redress their wrongs; and that he might assure his friends and confederates, that he would willingly undertake their defence. Having continued the conversation for some time, the cacique took his leave highly satisfied, while Cortes was equally pleased at the prospect of strengthening his interest by this alliance.

When the troops were ready to march, they found 400 Indians provided to carry their baggage and provisions. These carriers were called Tamenes, and were able to travel five or six leagues in a day, with three quarters of a hundred weight on their backs. The country they now entered was fertile and pleasant; a part of it was laid out in corn fields,

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The Caciques of Quiahislan & Zampoalla
appear before Cortes, carried on Mens shoulders.

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and the rest covered with trees. They passed the night at a little village they found deserted, and the next morning arrived at Quiabislan, which was strongly situated upon a rock, with the avenues to it narrow and steep. The town, on their entrance, appeared deserted; not an inhabitant was to be seen, until they came to a square in which the temples were placed, when fourteen or fifteen of the natives, handsomely adorned with feathers, came out to meet them. Cortes encouraged them by his affability, and gave them some glass beads, when they informed him, that their cacique had retired, in order to avoid a war; as he neither chose to deny them admittance, nor to trust his person among armed troops that were utterly unknown to him; and that the inhabitants could not be prevented from following his example; but that as soon as they should be sensible of the goodness of such guests, they would return to their houses, and esteem it their happiness to serve and obey them. Cortes gave them the strongest assurances of his friendship, and issued strict orders to his troops, to behave with great civility to the natives. A good understanding was soon established, and the town, in a little time, was filled with the inhabitants.

Some time after the cacique himself returned, and was introduced to Cortes by the cacique of Zempoalla, who made a handsome excuse for his friend. The interview was arranged with the greatest pomp. Cortes awaited their arrival at the head of his troops, and the caciques advanced in separate palanquins, borne on men's shoulders, attended by a numerous retinue. The conversation soon turned upon the tyranny of Montezuma, whom they represented as a monster, who not only impoverished them by the

tribute he demanded, but robbed them of their wives and daughters, with whose blood he stained the altars of his gods, after having sacrificed their honor to more shameful purposes.

In the midst of their discourse they were interrupted by the entrance of two or three Indians, who seemed in a great fright, and whispering the caciques, put them in such confusion, that they changed colour, and hastily retired. The cause of this disorder was instantly known; for six commissaries from Montezuma were seen passing before the quarters of the Spaniards, richly adorned with feathers and pendants of gold, attended by a number of inferior officers and servants, who cooled them with fans made of feathers. Cortes went to the gate to see them, when they passed by without showing him the least respect, and with such a contemptuous look, that the soldiers would have immediately chastised them, had they not been restrained. Mariana, accompanied by a guard, was immediately sent to ascertain the cause of their coming; and Cortes was soon acquainted, that these commissaries had summoned the caciques to appear before them, and sharply reprimanded them for presuming to entertain the emperor's enemies; that they also required, above the ordinary tribute, twenty Indians to be sacrificed to their gods, as an atonement for their crime. Cortes no sooner received this intelligence, than he ordered some soldiers to bring the caciques privately; when, telling them that he knew the inhuman purpose of the commissaries, which he would not suffer them to obey, he desired them to assemble their people, to seize the Mexicans, and to leave the rest to his conduct.

The caciques at first refused to comply with this

bold command, till Cortes repeating his order in a peremptory manner, they went and executed it. Montezuma's ministers were immediately seized, and put in a kind of pillory in their prisons, to the great satisfaction of the people, who required that they should be sacrificed to their gods; but this Cortes refused, and having secured them by a guard of Spanish soldiers, retired to his quarters, in order to contrive some method of extricating himself from the difficulty in which he was involved. He was unwilling to come to an open rupture with Montezuma, and yet thought it necessary to support the party he had already formed against that prince. In consequence of these reflections, he, at midnight, sent privately for two of the prisoners, whom he treated in a very obliging manner, told them they were at liberty, and, as he had restored them their freedom, they might assure their prince, that he would speedily endeavour to release the rest of their companions, and to make the caciques sensible of their fault. The Mexicans heard this declaration with equal joy and astonishment, but durst not set out on their journey, for fear of being killed or taken by the way; the Spanish soldiers were therefore ordered to conduct them to the bay, and one of the ship's boats carried them beyond the district of Zempoalla.

The next morning the caciques came to Cortes, expressing great concern at the escape of the prisoners; the intelligence of which he received with the appearance of much surprise and vexation, and then, in order to prevent the escape of the rest, obtained the concurrence of the caciques to send them on board the fleet, giving private directions for their being civilly entertained. Thus he endea-

voured to preserve the confidence of the caciques, and confer an obligation upon Montezuma, whose resentment he was unwilling to excite.

The moderation with which the Spaniards behaved towards their allies, was quickly made known to the neighbouring districts; and, in a few days, Cortes was visited by above thirty caciques of the mountains within sight of Quiabislan, where were numerous settlements of a rude people, called Totonaques, remarkable for strength, activity and courage: these promised to be faithful to the king of Spain, and offered to assist Cortes against Montezuma, with a numerous body of armed Indians.

Cortes now resolved to settle the corporation of Vera Cruz; for which purpose he chose a plain between Quiabislan and the sea, where the soil was extremely fertile, well watered with rivers, and abounding with trees, that were commodiously situated for the cutting of timber for building. They commenced with the foundation of a church; and the Spaniards, being assisted by their Indian friends, and encouraged by the example of the officers, who performed the most difficult part of the work, the town was soon completed, and encompassed with a mud wall, sufficient to defend it against all the methods of attack used by the Indians.

In the mean time Montezuma being informed, that the cacique of Zempoalla, whose fidelity was suspected, had admitted the strangers into his town, resolved not only to chastise this rebellious tributary, but to march in person against the Spaniards, whom, we are told, he destined as a sacrifice to his gods. But his preparations for this enterprise were suspended by the arrival of the two Indians, who had been released by Cortes. These gave an ac-

count of their imprisonment; of their owing their liberty to the captain of the strangers; of his courteous treatment, and the message he had ordered them to deliver; upon which Montezuma's anger was mitigated, and he resolved again to have recourse to a negociation, in order to endeavour to divert Cortes from his design.

The Mexican ambassadors arrived just as the new settlement and fortress of Vera Cruz was completed. These were two young men, the emperor's nephews, attended by four ancient caciques, to serve as counsellors. They had a splendid retinue, and the present, which consisted of gold, feathers and cotton, was valued by the Spaniards at two thousand pieces of eight. They told Cortes that the emperor had determined to chastise the caciques, until the account he had received of his behaviour had induced him to suspend his vengeance; that he, however, hoped he would soon quit that country, since the obstacles which opposed his coming to court were, in their own nature, insurmountable.

Cortes, according to his usual custom, received the presents made him by the emperor, with great respect, and ordering the four imprisoned officers to be brought ashore, delivered them to the ambassadors; observing, that he was highly pleased at having such an opportunity of showing his regard to the emperor. That he thought the insolence of the caciques in some measure excuseable, from the extravagant behaviour of the officers themselves, who, not satisfied with the usual tribute, had the inhumanity to demand twenty Indians for their sacrifices. That he thought himself obliged to the caciques for admitting and entertaining him in their territories, and therefore could not help inter-

ceding with Montezuma in their behalf; especially as they, together with the caciques of the mountains, were now in a peculiar manner under his protection; that he would communicate the particulars of his embassy, when he should appear in the emperor's presence, and that no impediments or dangers should prevent his receiving that favour. With this resolute answer, and some presents to the ambassadors, and others for Montezuma, he dismissed them, greatly dissatisfied at his obstinacy: while this circumstance heightened the admiration of the Indians, who were astonished at seeing the haughty Montezuma solicit his friendship with such presents.

CHAP. III.

Cortes is prevailed upon by false pretences to engage in an expedition against the inhabitants of Zimpazingo. He destroys the idols of Zempoalla, and returns to Vera Cruz. A conspiracy formed against him; he orders the ships to be sunk; marches for Mexico; sends ambassadors to Tlascala. His proposals of peace rejected; an obstinate battle with the Tlascalans. Xicotencal, their general, attacks the Spanish quarters by night; the Tlascalans sue for peace.

A SHORT time after this event, the cacique of Zempoalla came to Vera Cruz, and told Cortes, that the time was now come for him to protect his country against the Mexicans, who had arrived at Zimpazingo, whence they made incursions into his district, destroying the corn-fields, and committing other acts of hostility. Cortes thought himself obliged to support his new allies, and that it would not become him to suffer the insolence of the Mexicans, in a manner within his sight. He

therefore desired the cacique to provide Indians to carry his baggage, and draw his artillery; which being done, he set out at the head of four hundred Spaniards, leaving the rest in the fortress of Vera Cruz. On his passing by Zempoalla, he was joined by two thousand armed Indians, assembled by the cacique, to serve under him in this expedition. The same night he quartered his troops three leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next day in the afternoon discovered the town, situated on the top of a small hill, among great rocks, which concealed part of the buildings, and rendered it difficult of access.

The Spaniards, with much fatigue, passed over the rocks, without meeting the least resistance; but just as they were preparing to attack the town in several places at once, eight ancient priests appeared, clothed in black mantles that reached to the ground; the upper part was gathered about the neck, and a piece hung loose, in the form of a hood; they had long hair which was clotted, and their hands and faces stained with the blood of human sacrifices. These men approached the general with marks of the most humble submission, and soon convinced him that he had been imposed upon; since Montezuma's troops had retired some time before, and that this was only an artifice of his allies, who were their inveterate enemies, in order to make him the instrument of their destruction. Cortes being provoked at the deceit, ordered the captains Olido and Alverado to march with their companies, and assemble the Indians, who had advanced before to get into the town. They were now busy in plundering it, and making prisoners, and being brought into his presence, loaded with booty,

and followed by the miserable inhabitants crying aloud for justice, he commanded them to deliver up the goods to the priests, that they might restore them to the proper owners; and then calling for the Zempoalla captains, told them with a threatening voice, that they had forfeited their lives by their presumption, in engaging him, by deceit, to compass their revenge. However, he suffered himself to be appeased by the intercession of his own officers, whom he had before instructed for that purpose, though, indeed, he did not dare to punish them, for fear of losing the friendship of his new allies. Having thus reprimanded the Zempoallans, he ordered them to lodge without the town, while he himself entering it with the Spaniards, was received with the applauses due to a deliverer, and visited by the cacique, with others in that neighbourhood, who voluntarily acknowledged themselves subject to the king of Spain. He now formed a scheme for reconciling these Indians and the Zempoallans, which he effected; and having made them friends, he returned to Vera Cruz, leaving his reputation and interest highly advanced by the issue of this expedition, which he had too credulously undertaken: and thus, like a consummate politician, he made even his very errors contribute to his grand design.

In his march back to Zempoalla, he passed by two towns, belonging to those who were newly entered into the confederacy, when he observed a soldier steal a couple of hens, at which he was so provoked that he ordered him to be instantly hanged, but permitted Peter Alverado to cut him down with his sword before he was dead.

On his return, he found the cacique of Zempo-

alla waiting for him, at some distance from the town, with a large quantity of provisions for the refreshment of the army; when observing that chief appear ashamed of his conduct, he assured him that he had laid aside his displeasure, and having entered the town together, the cacique made him a present of eight beautiful virgins, who were of good families; they were adorned with gold necklaces and pendants, and attended by several female servants. Seven of these the cacique allotted for the captains, and the other, being his own niece, he recommended as a wife to Cortes, in order that their friendship might be strengthened by the ties of blood. The general returned him thanks, and let him know that it was unlawful for a Spaniard to marry any woman who was an idolater, and took this opportunity of declaring against their superstition and idolatry.

Soon after the Zempoallans assembled on one of their most solemn festivals, in order to offer human sacrifices, which were performed with horrible ceremonies; when the wretched victims being cut in pieces, were sold to the people as sacred food. Cortes being informed of this affair, was filled with indignation, and, forgetting every other motive, ordered the cacique, and principal Indians who attended him, to be brought before him, and with them proceeded to the temple, followed by his troops. The priests being informed of his approach, immediately ran to the gate, and with loud and hideous outcries called the people to the defence of their gods. Some armed Indians now posted themselves in the avenue of the temple; when Cortes, seeing the inhabitants assembling in great numbers, ordered Mariana to tell them aloud, that

the first arrow they should let fly, he would order the cacique, and all the principal Indians in his power, to be put to death, and then punish their presumption with fire and sword. The cacique trembled at this dreadful menace, and, commanding them to lay down their arms and retire, they obeyed with the utmost expedition. Cortes then began to declaim against the barbarity and absurdity of their religion, and at length proposed to the Indians, that they themselves should ascend the steps, and overthrow the idols with their own hands; but prostrating themselves upon the ground, they declared with tears and the most dreadful lamentations, that they would suffer the extremest tortures he could invent, rather than be guilty of such impious sacrilege. But giving the same command to his soldiers, the idols were in an instant thrown down and broken to pieces; while the Indians stood motionless with horror, every moment expecting the immediate vengeance of heaven to fall on these impious men; but perceiving that they remained unhurt, and that the gods were unable to defend themselves, their horror subsided, and changed into such contempt, that they themselves, joined with the Spaniards in burning the fragments of their idols; and the next day mass was celebrated in that very temple.

The Spaniards now returned to Vera Cruz; and on the day they reached that new colony, a vessel arrived from Cuba, commanded by Francisco de Salcedo, which brought captain Louis Martin, ten soldiers, and two horses. By these the general was informed, that Velasquez had obtained the title of king's lieutenant of the island of Cuba, with a commission to trade and make settlements in the new

discovered countries; and that he resolved to put a stop to Cortes's proceedings. This determined Cortes to lay the affair before the king. The council of Vera Cruz, at his desire, drew up a memorial to the king of Spain, which detailed the progress of the expedition, and particularly specified the disasters likely to result to it, from the conduct of Velasquez to their commander; and they concluded by beseeching his majesty, in consideration of his great merit, to grant Cortes the commission of captain-general, that he might be enabled to exert himself in the service of his country, free from the restraint of the governor of Cuba. This memorial was accompanied by a letter from Cortes, which contained his reasons for hoping that he should be able to reduce the whole empire of Mexico to his majesty's obedience. These dispatches were committed to Alonzo Hernandes Portocarrero and Francisco Montejo, To give greater effect to these representations, the king's part of the spoils was collected; but Cortes, thinking that this would be a trifling present, had the address to persuade the officers and soldiers to resign their shares, and the above officers embarked for Spain, on the 16th of July, 1519, with all the gold, jewels and curiosities, together with some of the natives, who consented to accompany them,

These deputies had been but just sent to Spain, when some of the friends of Velasquez concerted the means of escaping to Cuba, in order to give intelligence to Velasquez of these proceedings; but the plot was discovered by one of the accomplices, when on the point of being carried into effect. All the persons concerned were seized, and brought to trial; two were sentenced to be hanged,

two to be whipped, and the principal mariner of the ship was sentenced to lose one of his feet, the rest were pardoned. Cortes had no sooner signed the warrant for their execution, than he set out for Zempoalla, to prevent his being solicited to pardon them.

Cortes being very much disturbed at this conspiracy, which, if carried into effect, might have disconcerted his designs, determined to prevent the renewal of a similar attempt, in a manner that evinced the greatness and intrepidity of his mind: this was, to destroy the ships; that his followers, being deprived of all means of escape, might act with greater ardour and unanimity, from their having no other choice but to conquer or die. In order to obtain the concurrence of the soldiers, Cortes communicated this important scheme to his confidents, who so artfully imparted it, that the soldiers themselves went to persuade him to agree to it; and, among other arguments, urged, that there being 100 mariners on board, they would greatly add to their strength, and bear a part of all their fatigues. Cortes seemed to be convinced by these reasons, and ordered the anchors, sails, &c. to be brought ashore, and the ships immediately destroyed.

No sooner had Cortes taken this extraordinary step, than all the advantages of it seemed to be destroyed, by an accident, which it was impossible for him to avoid. This was the arrival of a small squadron on the coast. He immediately went to Vera Cruz, and perceived one of the vessels at anchor, at a considerable distance from the shore, from which three Spaniards landed, one of whom was a notary. Cortes went to them with a small party, when the notary delivered to him a writing,

signifying, that the governor of Jamaica laid claim to a part of that country, and therefore sent to inform Cortes, that he was not to make a settlement there. Cortes declined taking the paper, and mildly told him, that it would be better if captain Pineda, who, he understood, was the commander of the squadron, would come on shore, in order that they might adjust the affair amicably; but the notary refusing to carry this message, and insisting, in a disrespectful manner, on having a direct answer to his notification, Cortes ordered them to be seized, and then waited all night behind a sand-hill near the shore, in hopes that others would land from the ship; but, finding that none came, he directed three of his men to put on the prisoners clothes, and go down to the sea-side, where they were to make signals with their cloaks. In consequence of this stratagem, a boat came off from the ship, with twelve men well armed; and four men landing from the boat with an Indian, were immediately seized. The boat's crew instantly rowed back to the vessel, which weighed anchor and stood to sea. These men readily enlisted in the service of Cortes, who returned to Zempoalla with this small recruit of seven Spaniards, which was then esteemed a very considerable reinforcement.

A few days after Cortes returned to Zempoalla, he drew up the army, forming a body of Spaniards for the van-guard, and another of Indians for the rear, commanded by three caciques of the mountains; the strongest of the carriers were reserved for drawing the artillery, the rest were loaded with the baggage, and having appointed an advanced party to reconnoitre, they began their march towards Mexico, on the 16th of August, 1519. On their

route, they were kindly entertained at Jalapa, Socochima and Texucla, towns belonging to the confederates, in each of which places a cross was erected, and the people exhorted to forbear offering human sacrifices. They now entered upon the rough part of the mountains, where they were obliged to march for three days over rocks and precipices, in very cold and rainy weather, without any shelter from its inclemency. Just as they reached the summit, their provisions began to fail: here they found a temple, and a large quantity of wood, but made no stay, as they observed some villages on the other side of the mountain, to which they hastened with as much expedition as possible.

They now entered into the large and populous province of Zocathlan, where, in a valley at the foot of a mountain, was a city of the same name, in which the cacique resided. Cortes sent two Zempoallans to inform the prince of his arrival, who soon returned with a favourable answer. The cacique came out of the city with a great retinue, and received the general with a kind of forced civility. The Spaniards here found very incommodious quarters, and only a small quantity of provisions. Cortes, however, concealed his resentment, in order to give that prince no opportunity of engaging him in hostilities, that would inevitably obstruct his march.

The next day the cacique visited Cortes at his quarters, when the latter received him with great civility, and, among other questions, asked whether he was subject to the emperor of Mexico; when the other replied, 'Is there any man on earth who is not a slave to Montezuma!' To which Cortes scornfully replied, 'That he and those who accom-

panied him, obeyed another king, who had many subjects more powerful than Montezuma.' But the cacique, without attending to these words, proceeded to display the grandeur of his emperor; the provinces under his dominion, he said, were innumerable; and observed, that he had many lords, who served bare-footed in his palace, with their eyes fixed on the ground; adding, that he resided in the largest, most beautiful, and strongest city in the universe, founded in the midst of lakes. He then expatiated upon the immensity of his riches, the strength of his armies, and the misery of his enemies, above 20,000 of whom were annually sacrificed on the altars of his gods.

Cortes easily discovered the intent of his discourse, which had been dictated by the court of Mexico, to deter him from proceeding; but seeming not to penetrate into his design, he replied, that he was already informed of Montezuma's grandeur, and that his embassy being peaceable, his men were appointed rather to show his authority, than as a martial guard; but yet the most inconsiderable Spaniard was was able to overthrow a whole army of Indians. That he sought for peace; but, if he was compelled to engage in war, he would destroy his enemies with fire and sword; for nature would assist him with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning. This rodomontade had a surprising effect; and the cacique was so overawed by it, that he entirely altered his conduct, and supplied the Spaniards with provisions in great plenty, during the five days Cortes staid there; he even treated him with great respect, made him a present of four female slaves, and offered to give him twenty noble Indians for guides to his army.

Cortes now proceeded on his march to the province of Tlascala, which bordered on Zocathlan, and for several days nothing considerable happened; but afterwards hearing that the whole country was in arms, he resolved to halt at a small town called Xacazingo, until he should be better informed of their designs.

The province of Tlascala was about fifty leagues in circumference, and though the land was mountainous and uneven, it abounded with inhabitants. The capital was built upon different eminences. The people at first were governed by kings, until growing weary of their tyranny, they shook off the yoke, and formed themselves into a commonwealth. The towns were divided into a certain number of districts, each of which sent a representative to Tlascala, where they formed a senate, whose resolutions were obeyed by the whole province. Under this form of government they had long supported themselves against the emperors of Mexico, and were then at their highest pitch of power; for Montezuma's cruelty had increased the number of their confederates, among whom was a warlike nation, called the Otomies, equally famed for their barbarity and their valour.

To this republic Cortes sent four of the principal Zempoallans, who were fully instructed by Aguilar and Mariana how to address the senate. Each wore on his shoulder a wreathed cotton tippet, knotted at the ends; in the right hand, a large arrow, and on the left arm a target formed of tortoise-shell. On these occasions, when the purport of the embassy was war, the feathers of the arrow were red, but when the errand was peace, they were white. These ambassadors were known and respected, when on

the high roads; but, if they turned aside, they forfeited their privileges.

Cortes's four envoys, on their entering Tlascala, were conducted to a house set apart for the reception of ambassadors, and the next day brought into the senate, the members of which rose from their seats to bid them welcome. As the ambassadors entered, they held up their arrows; then paying their respects to the senate, they proceeded slowly to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled with their eyes fixed on the ground, continuing silent until the eldest senator desired them to declare their business. They then seated themselves upon their hams, and he, who was chosen the orator, expressed himself to the following purpose: "Noble republic, valiant Tlascalans, your friends and allies, the lord of Zempoalla, and the mountain caciques, wishing you health, abundance, and the destruction of your enemies, send us to inform you, that an invincible race of men are come from the east, who seem to be more than human; for they sail in palaces, and wield the thunder and lightning. They worship an Almighty Being, who is offended at human sacrifices. The general is ambassador from a mighty prince, who desires to reform the abuses of our country, and repress the tyranny of Montezuma. He has already rescued our provinces from oppression; and, as he means to pass through your territories in his way to Mexico, he desires to be informed of your grievances, that he may redress your wrongs. We have experienced his valour, and, in the name of our caciques and confederates, desire you to entertain these strangers." The speech being concluded, the four Indians raised themselves on their knees, and, making a profound

reverence to the senate, seated themselves again, expecting an answer.

After a short conference, the senators told the ambassadors, that they gratefully received the salutation of the confederates; but must deliberate on the answer to be returned to the strangers. The Indians then retired to their lodgings, when Cortes's demand produced very obstinate debates; some insisting upon repelling him by force of arms, and others proposing a compliance with his request. The chief of those who espoused pacific sentiments was an old senator, named Magiscatzen, a person of great authority in the republic, who reminded them of a prophecy, that an invincible race of men would come from the east, with such dominion over the elements, that they should form floating cities on the seas, and use fire and air to subdue the earth. These strangers, he alledged, were certainly the people foretold. They came from the east; their arms were fire; they dwelt in floating-houses; and, by their actions in Tabasco, proved themselves invincible. He alledged, that their arrival was predicted by signals from heaven, which it were impious to disregard. That they had assisted their allies, and only desired a passage through their country, which they could not refuse without being guilty of incivility to those who had never injured them, and without disrespect to their allies, by whom they were so warmly recommended.

Magiscatzen's speech was received with applause; but the favourable dispositions he inspired were entirely changed by the interposition of Xicotencal, their general, a young man, animated by ambition, who ridiculed the prophecy, and represented the Spaniards as common men, whose arms

and vessels were produced by human art, whose valour was not uncommon, and whose pride, cruelty and avarice, were intolerable, since they contemned their laws and customs, thirsted after their gold, destroyed their temples, and blasphemed their gods; and, that with respect to the signals of heaven, they ought to be interpreted as warnings to oppose and extirpate those presumptuous strangers. He therefore earnestly intreated, that they would allow him to assemble the forces, and exterminate them at once, as oppressors of their country and enemies to their religion. These arguments had great weight with a people ambitious of military glory; they therefore ordered their general to try his strength with the Spaniards, but detained the ambassadors.

Cortes having waited eight days for the return of his ambassadors, determined to continue his march towards the city of Tlascala, that in case they were resolved on hostilities, he might attack them before they were joined by their allies; which prevented their obtaining time to guard a strong stone wall, twenty feet thick, and nine feet high, with a parapet upon the top; it reached across the valley, extending from one mountain to another, and had no other entrance but in the middle, where the two ends circularly crossed each other for the space of ten paces, and might have easily been defended against all invaders. The Spaniards having passed this wall without opposition, marched in good order with their artillery ready, and with advanced parties to prevent surprise. These parties at length discovered twenty or thirty Indians at a considerable distance, who, by their plumes, appeared to be soldiers. Cortes instantly sent his scouts, with emblems of peace, while he himself prepared to

follow with eight horse, giving orders for the infantry to advance at leisure; but the Indians fled precipitately until they joined the main body. The eight horse were now joined by six others, and the Indians were reinforced by a body of 5000 men, who had lain in ambuscade. At this instant the Spanish infantry came up, and formed into a battalion, to sustain the fury with which the enemy advanced; but the first volley of the fire-arms threw the Indians into disorder. Of this the Spaniards taking advantage, fell upon them with such resolution, that, in a short time they quitted the field, leaving 60 men killed, and 90 prisoners taken by the Spaniards. Cortes would not permit his men to engage in the pursuit, but took possession of some houses, in which they found a considerable quantity of provisions, and passed the night there.

The Spaniards proceeding on their march the next day, were opposed by a larger body of the enemy, which advanced with great noise; and, having discharged a flight of arrows, and a large quantity of stones from their slings, retreated, making a kind of running fight; but Cortes imagining that this retreat was only a stratagem, followed in close order, till having reached the top of a hill, he discovered a plain, where was an army of about 40,000 men, composed of various nations, distinguished by the colours of their ensigns and plumes. The Spaniards boldly marched down the hill; formed on the even ground, and moved on to the attack, while the Indians still retired, till finding them at a distance from the hill, they opened to the right and left, and ran furiously to occupy the ground on both sides, and then closing in a circle, surrounded the Spaniards, who found it ne-

cessary to throw themselves into a hollow square, in order to sustain the fury of the assailants. The air was darkened with the arrows, darts and stones, which fell upon the Spaniards, until the Indians observing the little effect of these missive weapons, boldly attacked them with their pikes and swords. But the artillery swept down whole companies; the small arms killed them in heaps, and Cortes, breaking in among them with his horse, slew and trampled under foot all that came in his way. At length Cortes seeing the enemy fall back, placed his horse on the wings, and, being accompanied by the foot, charged them with redoubled vigour. The men on horseback seeming supernatural, put them into disorder, and they soon began to give way on all sides.

Nine or ten of the Spanish soldiers, and many of the Zempoallans, who were animated by the example of the Spaniards, were wounded in this battle, which was no sooner over, than Cortes, observing a small town on an eminence that commanded the country, marched thither, and had the satisfaction of finding it well supplied with provisions: but there not being sufficient room to accommodate the whole army, the Zempoallans erected huts for themselves, and raised some works of earth to secure the place, notwithstanding its being strong and difficult of access.

The sentiments of the Tlascalans were still divided; for while some cried out for peace, others were equally eager for continuing the war: Xicotencal demanded supplies to revenge the loss they had suffered, and one of the confederates arriving with 10,000 men, encouraged them to prosecute the war with fresh vigour. In the mean time the

four Zempoallan ambassadors returned to the Spaniards, and informed Cortes, that as soon as Xicotencal took the field, they were put in a prison, and destined by the Tlascalans as sacrifices to the god of war, but that they had happily found means to make their escape.

Though a profound stillness reigned throughout the country, Cortes was far from imagining that he was out of danger of being again attacked by the Tlascalans, he therefore resolved to maintain his post; bnt foreseeing that the Indians would interpret his inaction as proceeding from fear, he determined to reconnoitre the country; and marched out with all his horse and 200 foot, which equally consisted of Spaniards and Zempoallans. He advanced as far as some villages in the road to Tlascala, where he found great store of provisions, and made several prisoners, by whom he was informed, that Xicotencal was encamped about two leagues from thence, and employed in augmenting his army.

The Zempoallans being now highly incensed against the Tlascalans, Cortes permitted them to waste the country, and then returned to the camp, where he set at liberty his prisoners. By these he sent a message to Xicotencal, in which he expressed his concern for the loss he sustained in the battle, which his nation had brought upon themselves, by rejecting the peaceable terms he had offered them; and desired, that he would now consent to an accommodation, otherwise he should make the name of Tlascala a terror to its neighbours. The prisoners, at their departure promised to bring him an answer; and, a few hours after, returned, bloody and mangled by Xicotencal's order, for presuming to deliver such a message; with an answer, that

Xicotencal would meet the Christians as soon as the sun arose, when he did not doubt but that he should carry them alive to the altars of his gods.

Cortes, though piqued at the bold menace of Xicotencal, would not neglect his advice; but at day-break drew his troops into the field, leaving such a force in the town as he thought necessary for its defence, and having advanced about half a league, took possession of a spot where he could receive the enemy with advantage. He there formed his men, secured his flanks with the artillery, and put himself at the head of the horse, in order to bring succour wherever it should be wanted. In a short time the scouts reported that the enemy were on their march, and soon after they appeared, in number amounting to above 50,000 men, consisting of the whole strength of the republic and its allies. They displayed a large golden eagle, the ensign of Tlascala, which was never brought into the field, but upon the greatest undertakings, and advanced with equal expedition and intrepidity. On their coming within cannon shot, the artillery filled them with such terror, that they halted for some time; but again rushed forward in a throng, until they were near enough to use their slings and arrows, when they were a second time stopped by a discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows. At length, regardless of the slaughter that was made among them by the Spaniards and Zempoallans, they burst upon them like a torrent, and broke their ranks: at this instant, a great disturbance appeared among the enemy, who turned their arms against each other, and retired in a tumultuous manner.

The cause of this disturbance and retreat was afterwards found to be owing to the insolence of

Xicotencal, in upbraiding one of the confederate caciques with cowardice. The Indian chief, who had 10,000 men under his command, returned an angry answer; the other caciques espoused his quarrel, and immediately left the field.

It is said that Cortes lost only a single soldier on this occasion; however, the men were very much discouraged at their having been put into disorder, and loudly declared, that they would not be sacrificed to his obstinacy, but return by themselves to Vera Cruz, and leave him alone to follow the dictates of his ambition. This made it necessary for Cortes to assemble the soldiers, when he put them in mind that they had already vanquished the Tlascalans, who would certainly sue for peace, so that they should proceed to Mexico with the additional reputation of conquering so warlike a people: but that their retreat would bring them into disgrace, and endanger their total destruction. His address was attended with such success, that one of the mutineers cried aloud, "Fellow soldiers, our general is in the right, we cannot now retire without being inevitably lost;" and this opinion was immediately assented to by the whole army.

Meanwhile the Tlascalans were so intimidated by their ill success, that they cried aloud for peace with the strangers, whom they deemed invincible. But the senate, concluding they were magicians, consulted their wizards, who pretended to have discovered the cause of their defeat; asserting, that the Spaniards were the offspring of the sun, and derived a superior power from the warmth of his beams; but that when he disappeared they remained weak and dispirited. Hence they proposed, that they should be attacked by night, and utterly

destroyed before they could be reanimated by the beams of their father. This absurd piece of intelligence the senate communicated to Xicotencal, with orders to execute it, and he immediately began to prepare for taking his measures accordingly.

Cortes in the mean time took particular care to preserve the strictest discipline; sentinels were constantly posted at a distance from the town, the guards were regularly mounted and relieved, and the soldiers rested upon their arms. These precautions were of the utmost consequence; for, on the night destined for the attack, the outposts discovered a body of the enemy marching towards the town with unusual slowness and silence, when notice being given of their approach, the soldiers manned the works without noise or confusion, and chearfully waited to give them a warm reception. Xicotencal had 10,000 men under his command, whom he ordered to attack the quarters on three sides at once, which they did with equal speed and resolution; but they met with such a powerful and unexpected resistance, that they were speedily repulsed, many were slain, and the rest were the more terrified, from their having been confident that they should find the Spaniards weak and unprepared. Xicotencal, animated by rage, returned with double fury to the assault. His Indians assisted each other to climb the wall, and, for a considerable time one party succeeded as another was slain; at length finding it impracticable to force the works, Xicotencal ordered the signal to be sounded for a retreat. Cortes no sooner perceived them retiring, than he sent out part of his infantry, and all his horse, furnished with breast-plates full of bells, to charge the Indians, who were so terrified that they fled in confusion,

leaving a considerable number of dead, and some wounded, whom they were in too great a hurry to carry off. This victory was obtained by the loss of one man, a Zempoallan.

These defeats determined the Tlascalans to divest Xicotencal of the command, and sue for peace. The Spaniards still expecting a renewal of the attack, were extremely vigilant, when the advanced sentinels perceived four persons approach, adorned with white feathers, in token of peace, followed by thirty Indians loaded with provisions. As they advanced they frequently halted, and bowing their bodies, touched the earth with their hands, and applied them to their lips. Mariana appearing on the wall, asked for what purpose they were coming, and was answered, that they came from the senate and republic of Tlascala to treat of peace. On being introduced to Cortes, they apologized for what was past, sued for peace, and earnestly intreated him to march to their city, where the Spaniards should be served and respected as the children of the sun, and the brothers of the gods. Cortes treated them with an affected severity, and told them, that considering the methods they had taken to incur his displeasure, they ought to look upon their admission to his presence as a mark of his condescension: that however peace was agreeable to his inclinations, and he would endeavour to appease the anger of his captains.

CHAP. IV.

Cortes receives an embassy from Montezuma; enters Tlascala; description of the volcano Popocatepec; advance of the Spaniards to Cholula; stratagems of the Mexicans; progress of Cortes.

MONTEZUMA was greatly alarmed at the success of Cortes against the Tlascalans, apprehending that, should they unite their forces, they might be able to overturn his empire. Yet instead of assembling an army in his own defence, he sent another present to Cortes by ambassadors, who were ordered to divert him from his intended journey, to watch over his actions, and, if possible, to prevent a reconciliation between him and the Tlascalans. Five Mexicans of the first rank, charged with this embassy, arrived in the Spanish quarters soon after the ministers of the republic had departed, and were favourably received by Cortes, who accepted of the present, but would not permit them to return immediately, as he was desirous that they should see the Tlascalans humbled: and, indeed, they had no inclination to depart until they had accomplished the real design of their embassy.

In the mean time the republic caused the neighbouring villages to furnish the Spanish army with provisions, and Cortes was visited by Kicotencal, at the head of fifty noblemen of his party, attended with the ensigns of peace. He was well made, above the middle stature, and had a countenance that commanded respect. He wore a white mantle adorned with jewels, and behaved before Cortes with the free air of a soldier. He began his speech

by frankly owning that he was the true cause of the war, from his believing that the Spaniards were friends to Montezuma, whom he hated, but was now come to put himself into the hands of his conqueror, hoping, by this submission, to obtain pardon for his country, and the return of peace; he also intreated him to enter the city, where quarters should be provided for his men, and desired that the inhabitants might be well used, and their gods and wives protected from violence. Cortes complained, in the hearing of the Mexican ambassadors, with some vehemence, of the unjust war they had carried on, granted the peace, and promised that no violence should be committed by the soldiers. At Xicotencal's departure he gave him his hand, and told him that he would return the visit after the departure of Montezuma's ambassadors.

The Mexicans made a jest of the peace, and pretended that the Tlascalans only sought to lull him into security. in order with the greater ease to destroy him and his soldiers. But finding that he was fixed in his resolution to grant them a peace, they desired him to delay his march to Tlascala for six days, promising to send two of their number to Mexico, to inform their prince of that transaction, who would return within that time, while the rest should stay to await his resolution; and as Cortes did not think proper to break with Montezuma, he consented to this request.

Within the appointed time the ambassadors returned, accompanied by six persons of high rank, with a splendid retinue, bearing another present of greater value than the former, declaring, that Montezuma desired to be the friend and confederate of the great sovereign of the Spaniards, and would

pay him an annual tribute, provided that they would enter into no league with the Tlascalans, and lay aside their design of coming to Mexico.

But Cortes being resolved that these ambassadors should be witness of the peace with Tlascala, postponed his answer, resolving to detain them as long as he could, to give Montezuma the less time to prepare for hostilities. These embassies so greatly alarmed the Tlascalans, that the chiefs came to a resolution to visit Cortes in the form of a senate, in order to convince him of their sincerity, and break off his negociation with the Mexicans. They accordingly arrived in solemn procession, carried upon the shoulders of inferior officers, and followed by numerous attendants. Cortes received them with his usual state and civility, and after they were seated, was addressed by the father of Xicotencal, a blind old man, of a venerable aspect, who told him, that the senate of Tlascala were come to sue for peace on his own terms; to dissuade him from entering into a league with the tyrant Montezuma, and intreated him to honour their city with his presence. Cortes assured him that he would march to Tlascala, whenever the people of the neighbouring villages were ready to conduct his baggage and artillery. The next morning five hundred tamines, or carriers, appeared at his quarters, and having made the proper dispositions, he immediately began his march. The fields were filled with vast multitudes of people, who came to behold the spectacle, and made such outcries and gesticulations, as were mistaken by the Spaniards for threats of war, till they were informed by Mariana, that in this manner the Indians expressed their joy at their festivals.

The Spaniards were received by the senators and nobles, at a considerable distance from the town, who having paid their respects to the general, turned about and marched before. The city at their entrance resounded with shouts, acclamations, and the disagreeable noise of their horns, pipes and drums. The croud was so great, that the magistrates could scarcely keep the passage free. Some of the women threw flowers on the Spaniards, while others put nosegays in their hands. The priests, clothed in long garments, came with their copper censers, offering incense to them as they passed, and all the spectators seemed to be filled with awe, admiration and joy. Quarters were provided for them in a large edifice, which had three or four spacious courts, and a great number of rooms; in this building the whole army was conveniently lodged, and here Montezuma's ambassadors were secure under the protection of the Spaniards.

As Cortes knew the warlike character of these people, he observed the utmost circumspection; a guard was regularly kept in his quarters; he never appeared abroad without a number of attendants well armed, and the soldiers never appeared but in companies, with their fire-arms on their shoulders. These marks of distrust greatly mortified the Tlascalans; and Magiscatzin, being sent by the senate to complain of it to Cortes, observed, that his soldiers, by appearing in the city with lightning on their shoulders, gave more offence by such a mark of suspicion, than they would do by committing real acts of violence. Cortes assured him, that he was well convinced of the sincerity and good-will of the republic; and that his soldiers appearing in arms was one of the effects of that discipline, which

had rendered the Spaniards invincible. The senate were satisfied with this reply, and the Spaniards received daily proofs of the fidelity and friendship of their new allies. They were plentifully supplied with provisions, and presents were poured in upon them from all quarters. The extirpation of idolatry now occupied the attention of Cortes, who, in his zeal, resolved to destroy all their idols; but it was soon moderated by the charity of father de Olmedo, who told him, that persecution but ill agreed with the doctrines of the gospel; and that their conversion required time and gentle usage. However, he prevailed on the Tlascalans to desist from human sacrifices, as being in the highest degree shocking to nature; and to set at liberty those miserable wretches, who were fed in cages, in order to be the victims of their inhuman worship.

Peace being established, and the senate of Tlascala having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain, Cortes dismissed the Mexican ambassadors, whom he desired to inform Montezuma of what had passed in their presence, of the solicitations and fidelity of the Tlascalans; over whom, he directed them to state, he had now such influence, that he hoped to bring them under the obedience of the emperor of Mexico; and of his resolution to continue his march, in order to confer with their prince upon that and other important subjects.

While Cortes continued at Tlascala, receiving homage, in the name of Charles V., from the different towns and confederates of the republic, the inhabitants were alarmed by a surprising irruption of fire from the volcano of Popocatepec, a high mountain, eight leagues distant from the city, which filled the people with terror and consternation;

for they weakly imagined it to be a presage of future misfortunes, and supposed that the sparks of fire were the souls of tyrants, sent abroad by the offended deities to torment the earth.

Magiscatzin, and some of the principal noblemen, were rehearsing these idle fancies to Cortes, when Diego de Ordaz came to ask leave to ascend the mountain, and view the crater of the volcano. The Tlascalans, astonished at his proposal, endeavoured to dissuade him from engaging in such a dangerous enterprise; and observed, that the boldest men of their nation had never ventured beyond some hermitages of their gods, about the middle of the eminence, and that dreadful roarings forbade all approach to its summit. This account increased the eagerness of Diego de Ordaz, and Cortes granted his request, in order to afford the Tlascalans an additional proof of the superior courage of the Spaniards.

Ordaz therefore set out on this expedition, attended by two soldiers, and some of the principal Indians, who offered to attend him as far as the hermitages. He found the bottom of the mountain beautified on all sides with green trees, which extended a considerable way up the ascent. The earth then grew barren by degrees. The Indians stopped at their hermitage, to which they never expected to see the Spaniards return, and Diego de Ordaz, with his companions, proceeded, climbing among the rocks, which were whitened by snow, and the ashes discharged from the volcano, until they nearly reached the summit, where they felt the earth move violently under them, and heard a dreadful roaring issue from the crater, which discharged a vast quantity of fire and smoke, that darted upwards to a great height. They were

instantly covered with a shower of hot ashes, which obliged them to seek for shelter in the hollow of a rock, where they were almost stifled. Diego de Ordaz, however, perceiving that the earthquake was passed, encouraged the soldiers, by his example, to prosecute this discovery, till they came within sight of the mouth of the volcano, which was about a quarter of a league in circumference; they observed at the bottom a large quantity of inflammable matter, which boiled up like some shining metal in fusion. With this account they returned safe, to the astonishment of the Indians, whose admiration of the Spaniards was increased by this adventure, which afterwards proved of signal service; for Ordaz found a large quantity of sulphur in the mountain, of which Cortes made gunpowder, when it was much wanted by the army.

Cortes having continued twenty days at Tlascala, during which he was entertained with all possible marks of respect, declared his resolution of proceeding for Cholula; in which he was opposed by the Tlascalans, who endeavoured to strengthen some arguments that had been before urged by the Zempoallans, by declaring that Cholula was a sacred place, in which were four hundred temples, and such malevolent deities, that they terrified the world with prodigies; that he ought not, therefore, to enter their territories, without an assurance of their being propitious. Just about this time new ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, bringing another present, and permission for the Spaniards to proceed by the way of Cholula, where he had provided quarters for the reception of the army. The Tlascalans immediately concluded, that there was treachery in the case; and Magiscatzin repeated

his remonstrances with such marks of concern, that Cortes called a council in his presence, in which it was agreed, that it was impossible to avoid the road proposed by the emperor of Mexico, without discovering a suspicion of his sincerity; that whether this suspicion was well or ill founded, it would not be proper to disclose it; and that it would be equally dangerous to leave enemies behind them. Whence it was necessary for them to go to Cholula, to discover Montezuma's intentions, and to obtain new reputation by chastising his subjects, if necessary, for their perfidy.

Indeed, Montezuma being terrified at the victories of the Spaniards, and ashamed of employing his armies against such a handful of men, actually resolved to destroy them by artifice, and had chosen Cholula for that purpose. Yet the inhabitants of that city were such novices in dissimulation, that they neglected sending deputies to Cortes, who complained to the Mexican ambassadors of this mark of disrespect; and when they were informed of his displeasure, they sent four persons with such mean equipage, that he refused to admit them into his presence. Cortes, on the day of his departure, drew up the Spaniards and Zempoallan auxiliaries, and was much surprised to find the whole force of the republic and her allies ready in the field, distinguished by the colour of their feathers, and their different ensigns; but Cortes insisted upon taking only 6000 of the republic's troops, with which he began his march to Cholula. That city was about five leagues distant from Tlascala, and the same evening he halted near a river, within three miles of the place, which he was unwilling to enter by night. He was there visited by deputies from the

city, of distinguished rank, who brought a present of provisions, and apologized for not waiting on him at Tlascala, on account of his being there in the midst of their enemies. Though Cortes was far from being convinced of their sincerity, he admitted their excuse; and the next morning proceeded towards Cholula, where he was met by the cáciques and priests, attended by a multitude of unarmed people, who had the appearance of being filled with reverence and joy; but they no sooner perceived the body of Tlascalans that marched in the rear, than a disagreeable murmur was heard among the chiefs, which Mariana was ordered to ask the reason of. She returned with an answer, that the Tlascalans being their enemies, could not enter the city in arms, wherefore they earnestly entreated, that he would order them to return. Cortes was disconcerted at this demand; he however desired the Tlascalans to lie without the city, to which they agreed, and then entered Cholula, amidst the acclamations of the people, and with all the marks of respect shown to the Spaniards at their entrance into Tlascala.

The city of Cholula stood in an open and delightful plain, and was much frequented by strangers, on account of its being a sanctuary of the gods, and its carrying on a considerable trade. The streets were spacious, the buildings larger and more regular than those of Tlascala, and a great number of stately towers, which adorned the city, showed the multitude of their temples. It contained 20,000 inhabitants within the walls, and an equal number in the suburbs; but as they chiefly consisted of mechanics and merchants, they were esteemed more cunning than warlike. The quarters appointed for

the Spaniards were three or four large edifices, contiguous to each other, and sufficient to contain both the Spaniards and Zempoallans. The Tlascalans chose a place at a small distance from the town, which they secured with some works, formed guards, and placed sentinels, in imitation of the Spaniards, from whom they had obtained some knowledge in the art of war.

For the first three or four days, there was the greatest appearance of tranquillity and friendship, but after that time provisions grew gradually scarce, and an entire stop was put to the entertainments of the caciques. The priests and Montezuma's ambassadors held private conferences, and the people began to look upon the Spaniards with an air of scorn and dislike. This naturally awakened the jealousy of the latter, and Cortes was endeavouring to penetrate into the intentions of the Cholulans, when the whole design was accidentally discovered. Mariana had contracted a friendship with an old Indian woman of distinction, who, coming one morning to her apartment, begged, with great earnestness, that she would immediately forsake those abominable strangers, and live with her. Mariana, perceiving that there was something extraordinary in this request, so bemoaned her captivity, that the Cholulan, believing her sincere, told her that there was no time to be lost, for the Spaniards were devoted to destruction; that Montezuma had sent 20,000 Mexicans to secure the success of the design, of which 6000 chosen men had already entered the city in small parties: that a great quantity of arms was distributed among the inhabitants, who had carried stones up to the tops of their houses, and cut deep trenches across the

streets, in which were fixed sharp stakes, slightly covered with earth, for the destruction of the horses: that the emperor of Mexico had resolved to exterminate all the Christians; but had given orders that some of them should be taken alive, to satisfy his curiosity and zeal for religion; and that he had made the city of Cholula a present of a gold drum to excite their courage. Mariana, on obtaining this intelligence, pretended that she was ready to attend her deliverer, and would only go and fetch her jewels; but immediately hastened to Cortes, and told him the whole affair, upon which the Indian woman was seized, and by threats obliged to make a particular confession of the whole. He was at the same time informed by some Tlascalan soldiers, who entered the city in the disguise of peasants, that they had seen the Cholulans carry their women and effects to the neighbouring villages; and obtained intelligence from several other persons, which put the affair beyond all doubt.

Cortes now thought it necessary to justify his conduct, by the testimony of some unexceptionable witnesses among the citizens themselves; and therefore sent for three of the chief priests, and discoursing with them separately, complained of their treachery, and mentioned all the particulars of their design. Believing that he was endued with the power of penetrating into the thoughts of men, they acknowledged the truth, and charged Montezuma with being the author of the whole contrivance. These priests were then secretly imprisoned, and Montezuma's ambassadors excluded from all communication with the people. Cortes ordering his captains to assemble, laid before them the whole conspiracy, and proposed a scheme for

punishing the Cholulans, to which they unanimously consented. Agreeably to this plan, he let the magistrates know that he should depart the next day; demanded provisions for his march, Indians to carry his burdens, and, with a view of disuniting their forces, required a reinforcement of 2,000 armed men to join the Tlascalans and Zempoallans; which they chearfully granted, in order to introduce concealed enemies among his troops. The Tlascalans were then ordered to draw near the city at day-break, and to enter the town and join the Spaniards and Zempoallans, at the first discharge of fire-arms. At night, having secured the quarters, he sent for Montezuma's ambassadors, and told them that he had discovered a conspiracy, formed against him by the caciques and citizens of Cholula, whom he was resolved to punish, not only for their perfidious breach of hospitality, but for pretending that they had received orders and assistance from Montezuma; and that he was not so much provoked at their treacherous intentions towards him, as at their presuming to lay their crime to the charge of the emperor. The ambassadors appeared overwhelmed with terror and confusion, peetended to be ignorant of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to save Montezuma's credit, while Cortes rejoiced at this opportunity of defeating the arts of the Mexican prince, and of raising the reputation of his arms.

Early in the morning came the carriers with some provisions, though in a small quantity, and afterwards a greater number of armed Indians than Cortes had demanded. These he secured in several parts of his quarters, on pretence of forming his battalions in the usual manner. Then putting his men in order, and mounting his horse, he sent for

the caciques, and when they appeared, told them in a loud and angry voice, that as he had discovered their conspiracy, he would so severely punish them, that they should repent of their treachery. Scarce had he began to speak, when they hasted away with great expedition to join their own forces, insulting him with threats and abuse, which they uttered as they fled. Cortes then commanded his infantry to fall upon the soldiers, whom he had kept divided in the squares of his quarters, all of whom were soon destroyed, except a few, who threw themselves from the walls and escaped. This bloody slaughter being ended, he gave the signal for the Tlascalans to advance; and then marched slowly into the principal street, having first left a guard in the quarters, and detached some Zempoallans to discover the trenches, in order that the horse might escape the danger. In the mean time the Cholulans called in the Mexicans, and entering a large square, in which were three temples, posted a number of men in the porches, and tops of the towers, while the rest were divided into several bodies, to engage the Spaniards. Just as Cortes's troops entered this square, and the charge was given, the Tlascalans closed with the enemies rear, and threw them into such disorder, that they neither knew how to fly nor to defend themselves, so that they fell in heaps without resistance. The terraces and steps of the temples were so crowded with armed men, that they could scarce turn themselves, or find room to fix their arrows; when Cortes advancing to the largest temple, commanded his interpreters to proclaim a pardon, and free passage, to all who would come down and surrender themselves: but this proffer, though twice repeated, being rejected, he caused

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the artillery to play upon the temples, so that great numbers perished in their ruins. The Tlascalans having pillaged the town, Cortes assigned them lodgings without the city, and then retired to his own quarters, where ordering the principal persons of the town, who had been taken prisoners, together with the priests and Indian woman, whom he had kept confined, to be brought before him, he expressed his concern at their having obliged him to inflict so severe a punishment upon the city, published a general pardon, and desired the caciques to call back the fugitives. The ambassadors congratulated Cortes on his success, and the citizens, being encouraged by his offers of peace, returned to their houses.

The day after the action, Xicotencal arrived at the head of 20,000 men, which the Tlascalans had sent to the assistance of the Spaniards; but Cortes having returned them his acknowledgments, informed their general, that he would soon begin his march to Mexico, and that it would be improper to exasperate Montezuma, by bringing such a number of his declared enemies into his dominions. Xicotencal, acknowledging the justice of this observation, promised to retire, and keep the troops in readiness, in case he should have occasion for them: but before their departure, Cortes brought about a peace between the republic and Cholula, by which means he opened a way for the Tlascalans to supply him with succours, and removed all impediments to his retreat.

Some of the Zempoallans now desiring leave to return home, Cortes granted their request, and took this opportunity of sending some presents to their cacique; and at the same time sent Juan de Esca-

lante a short account of his success, desiring him to strengthen Vera Cruz with additional fortifications, in order to secure it from the restless ambition of Diego Velasquez.

About this time new ambassadors arrived from the emperor of Mexico, who, being informed of what passed at Cholula, and willing to escape the suspicion of having had any concern in it, not only thanked Cortes for chastising those traitors, but sent him a valuable present.

Cortes having staid fourteen days at Cholula, proceeded towards Mexico, and the first night lodged in a village, to which the chiefs of the neighbouring towns repaired with presents. From them Cortes heard the same complaints of Montezuma as in the more distant provinces, and was informed, that the Mexicans had placed a considerable ambuscade on the other side of a mountain he was to pass the next day; that they had stopped up the high road, and opened another which ended in precipices, and that the Spanish army, when perplexed with difficulties, was to be suddenly attacked. The next day Cortes prosecuted his march over a very craggy mountain; when he had reached the top, he perceived the two roads which had been described to him, and, turning with great composure to the Mexican ambassadors, asked them the reason why one was blocked up with trees and stones, and the other but newly made. To which they answered, that the new road was levelled for his convenience, and the other stopped up, on account of its being more steep and difficult. Cortes replied, "You are but little acquainted with the genius of our nation, for we will march in this road, for no other reason than its difficulty." He then desired his Indian

friends to remove the obstacles to his passage. The Indians in ambuscade, observing that the Spaniards marched in the royal road, concluded they were discovered, and began to retire in great disorder; while Cortes descended without opposition into the plain.

Montezuma being dispirited by these disappointments, grew daily more devout, resorted to the temples, increased the number of human sacrifices, and, assembling his magicians, ordered them to overcome the Spaniards by their enchantments. The necromancers, having performed their incantations, returned to Montezuma, and told him, that the god Telcatlepuca, from whom famine and plagues proceeded, had appeared to them in a garment girt with a robe of wicker, declaring that Montezuma's ruin was decreed, and the dissolution of the empire at hand. The superstitious king was struck dumb with this report; but, recovering his speech, he cried, 'If our gods forsake us, let the strangers come. It would be dishonorable to turn our backs upon misfortunes:' and then, after a short pause, added, 'I lament the old men, women and children, who cannot defend themselves.' From this moment he began to prepare for the entertainment of the Spaniards. All the discourse of Mexico turned upon their astonishing actions, and the prodigies by which their coming had been foretold; and these topics of conversation produced a prepossession, that was absolutely necessary to enable such a handful of men to penetrate to the very court of such a powerful prince.

Cortes having passed the mountain, advanced the following day to a village in the jurisdiction of Chalco, where he was visited by the principal cacique

of the province, and others in that neighbourhood, who brought him provisions and other presents, and, when unobserved by the Mexican ambassadors, complained of Montezuma's tyranny.

The next day Cortes pursued his march four leagues through a delightful country, adorned with groves and beautiful gardens, until he arrived at a village built on a creek of the great lake, where he fixed his quarters. Thither the Mexicans resorted with their arms and military ornaments in such numbers, as raised his suspicions; when, in order to keep them at a proper distance, he caused some fire-arms and pieces of artillery to be fired in the air, at which they were so terrified that they hastily retired. However he was visited in the morning by one of Montezuma's nephews, who was lord of Tezcuco; he was a young man, had an agreeable person, and was carried on the shoulders of some of his servants in a chair adorned with a variety of feathers curiously diversified. He no sooner alighted than they went before to sweep the ground, and keep back the people on each side. Cortes going to the door of his apartment, received him with a low bow, which the prince returned by touching the earth, and then his lips with his right hand, which salutation being passed, he sat down, and, with an easy air, welcomed him and all his captains; spoke of Montezuma's amicable disposition, and mentioned the difficulties that opposed his going to Mexico, on account of that year's barrenness, by which the people were much distressed, so that strangers could be but ill accommodated where the natives wanted necessaries. To which Cortes replied, that the king, his master, having some important reasons for offering his friendship

to Montezuma, he, his servant, with great respect accepted the liberty he had received of delivering his embassy, without being in pain for the present scarcity, since the Spaniards required but little nourishment, and even despised the inconveniences which afflicted men of an inferior species. The emperor's nephew then received a present of some false jewels, made of glass, at which he showed great signs of joy, and having accompanied the army as far as Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, proceeded to Mexico to give an account of his embassy.

The city of Tezeuco was one of the largest in the empire, and in grandeur was but little inferior to Mexico itself. It extended along the banks of a spacious lake, at the beginning of the Mexican causeway. The houses were very beautiful, the streets regular, and, what was still more extraordinary, fresh water was brought in pipes to every house. Cortes pursued his march over the causeway, which was twenty feet broad, composed of stone, and in the midway came to another town of about 2,000 houses, called Quitlavaca, which was founded in the water, whence it afterwards obtained the name of Venezuela or Little Venice. Here the cacique, attended by a splendid retinue, came out to meet him, and pressed him to honour his city by spending the night there; to this he thought proper to consent, for he began to suspect that the Mexicans might break the causeway, or obstruct his march by taking away the bridges. From this place the Spaniards had a view of the greatest part of the lake, which was beautified with towns, adorned with towers and pinnacles, gardens and causeways that seemed to float on the water. The battlements of

the houses were filled with people; multitudes of Indians approached in their canoes to behold the Spaniards, and the whole formed a prospect that was at once new and extremely noble. In this city they were entertained with a politeness that showed its neighbourhood to the court.

Early the next morning the Spaniards formed themselves upon the causeway, which was there wide enough to allow eight horses to march in front, and the whole army, which consisted of 450 Spaniards, and 6,000 Indian allies, proceeded on their march to Iztapalapa, a city built in a most delightful and commodious situation, part of it on the lake, and the other part on the shore. It consisted of 10,000 houses, of two or three stories high. The lord of this city, accompanied by the princes of two other towns bordering on the lake, came out to meet Cortes with three separate presents of gold, fowls, fruit and provisions. The Spaniards entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people; lodgings were prepared for them in the prince's palace, a large and well-built edifice, with many apartments both above and below stairs, among which were several chambers with flat roofs of cedar, furnished with cotton hangings, curiously painted. Here were many conduits of excellent water, conveyed by aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and a considerable number of large and well cultivated gardens, particularly one that belonged to the cacique. It consisted of squares adorned with a variety of flowers; a parterre with divisions made of canes, interwoven with odoriferous shrubs, and fruit-trees disposed into walks. In the centre was a quadrangular pond of fresh water, containing fish and various sorts of water-fowl.

CHAP. V.

Cortes enters Mexico, where he is met by Montezuma. A description of the city of Mexico, with an account of the grandeur, wealth and power of the emperor, and the religion and policy of the Mexican government.

EARLY in the morning the Spaniards left the city of Iztapalapa, and beginning their march in their accustomed order, soon discovered the great city of Mexico, distinguished above the rest by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. Having marched about half way, they were met by a body of about 4,000 nobles and officers of the city, who came out to meet them, and, having paid their obedience, turned about and advanced before the troops. At a small distance from Mexico, the causeway was crossed by a bulwark of stone, where the entrance into the city was secured by gates, a draw-bridge and a second fortification. The nobles had no sooner passed the bridge, than they fell back on each side, and made an opening for the army to pass through, when there appeared a spacious street, the houses of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with spectators, though none were seen passing through the streets; for Montezuma had given orders for their being cleared, as he had resolved to show Cortes an extraordinary mark of favour, by his coming out to meet him.

The Spaniards had scarcely entered the city, when they perceived the first troop of the royal retinue, which consisted of 200 noblemen of Montezuma's household, uniformly adorned with feathers,

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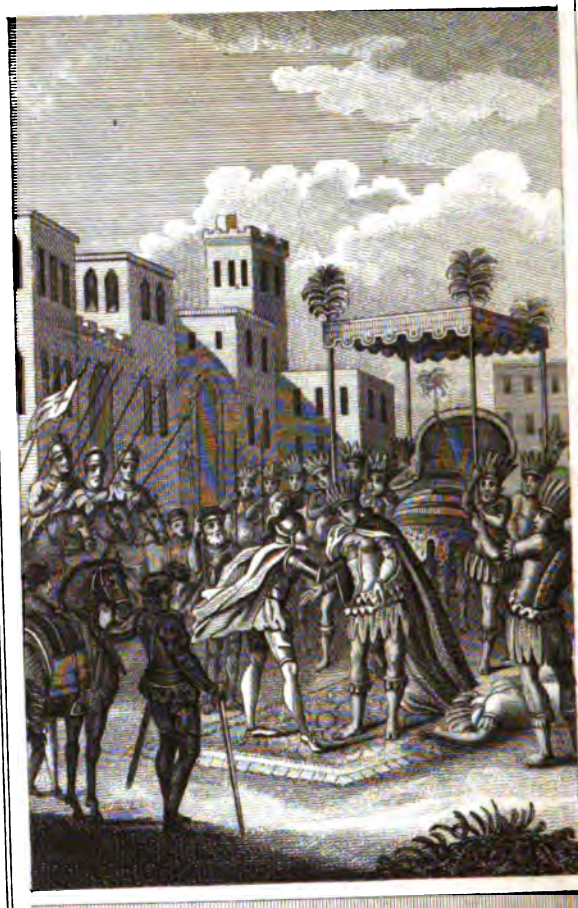

Cortes meets Montezuma at Mexico

G. Shee sculp.

Dublin. Published by J. Christie. 17 Ross Lane.

who approached in two files, with their eyes fixed on the ground, observing the strictest silence; but, on their approaching the Spaniards, fell back on each side. At a considerable distance appeared a larger company more richly adorned, in the midst of whom was Montezuma in a chariot of burnished gold, surrounded with beautiful feathers, and carried on the shoulders of his favourites, while four persons of distinction held over his head a canopy of green feathers interwoven with ornaments of silver. He was preceded by three officers with golden rods, which from time to time they lifted up, as a signal of the emperor's approach, that all might prostrate themselves, and hide their heads. Cortes dismounted at a small distance, and Montezuma at the same time alighted from his chariot, when some of the Indians advanced before and spread carpets, that his feet might not touch the ground. He came forward with a slow and solemn pace, leaning on his cousins, the princes of Tezeuco and Iztapalapa. He was about forty years of age, of a middle stature, but his constitution seemed rather delicate than robust; he had an aquiline nose, and a fairer complexion than the rest of the Mexicans; his eyes were lively, and his hair reached a little below his ears; his look, though thoughtful, was majestic; he wore on his head a kind of golden mitre; a mantle of fine cotton, covered with gold, pearls and precious stones, was carelessly tied on his shoulders; his shoes, which resembled the sandals of the Romans, consisted of a golden sole bound to his foot, with studded straps that came round a part of his leg.

Cortes hastily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Montezuma returned in the man-

ner of his country, by touching the ground with his hand and kissing it; at which the Mexicans were greatly astonished, since they had never seen any of their emperors give such an instance of condescension. Cortes wore about his neck a chain of glass, curiously set, in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reserved as a present for his first audience, and coming up close to the emperor, he threw it about his neck. The princes who supported him, showed some emotion, and interposed to prevent Cortes, signifying that it was unlawful to approach so near: but they were reprimanded by Montezuma, who bowed his head, to show that he accepted the present; and which he returned, by putting upon Cortes's neck a rich ornament of crimson shells, joined together with great art, at each end of which hung four crabs of gold of excellent workmanship. Cortes then made a short speech, which Montezuma answered, and ordered one of his supporters to conduct the stranger to his dwelling, and then leaning on the other, went to his chair, and returned to his palace.

In this manner Cortes entered the city of Mexico, on the 8th of November, 1519. One of the royal palaces was provided for the Spaniards. It was built by Montezuma's father, and was large enough to lodge the whole army. It had very thick stone walls, was flanked with towers, and many of the chambers were furnished with cotton hangings, and featherwork of various colours. The chairs were formed out of solid pieces of wood, and the bedsteads had curtains like pavilions, the beds themselves were of palm mats, and the bolsters of the same rolled up. Cortes entered these lodgings a little after twelve at noon, and had no sooner distributed his guards,

and placed his artillery, than he found a splendid banquet prepared for himself and his officers, and great plenty of provisions dressed for the soldiers, who were waited on by many Mexican attendants.

In the evening Cortes was visited by Montezuma, who came in the same state as before. Cortes went to the principal square to meet him; and, after making a profound reverence, entered the apartment with Montezuma, who took his seat with an air of majesty, and ordered a chair to be brought for Cortes, whom he thus addressed: "Before you mention the particulars of your embassy, illustrious captain, let you and I lay aside the prejudices we have each imbibed of the other, from the misrepresentations of common report. You have been in some places told that I am a god, that my power is invincible, and my riches immense; that my palaces are covered with gold, and that the earth groans beneath the weight of my treasure. Upon other occasions you have heard that I am a tyrant, cruel, insolent and unjust; but you have been imposed upon by both representations: this arm of flesh and blood, shows that I am mortal; and these walls and roofs demonstrate, that my palaces are not covered with gold; and from these accounts you may conclude, that the account of my vices is also exaggerated by the malice of my enemies. We have also received various accounts of you; some have affirmed that you are gods, who grasp the thunder, command the elements, and compel the beasts of the forest to obey your directions. You have been represented by others, as proud, vindictive, voluptuous, and transported with an insatiable thirst after the gold which our country produces. Yet I now see that I have been alike deceived by these diffe-

rent accounts. You are made like other men, and only distinguished from us by the peculiarities of your own country. The beasts, that so readily obey you, are large deer trained up to discipline. Your arms, that prodnce lightning, I conceive to be barrels of metal; the fire, noise and smoke, are owing to inchantment. In a word, we believe that the great prince, to whom you pay obedience, is a descendant of Quezalcoal, lord of the seven caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful sovereign of the seven nations that gave rise to the Mexican empire. For from the tradition of many ages, we know that he left these countries, to conquer new regions in the east, with a promise, that in process of time his descendants should return, to new-model our laws, and reform our government. We have therefore determined, that every thing shall be done for the honor of a prince, who is the offspring of such an illustrious progenitor." To this Cortes replied: "We have, it is true, Sire, heard very opposite accounts of your character, which some have extolled, and others have vilified; but as Spaniards are able to distinguish the colours of discourse, we have given no credit either to your flatterers or your rebels, but come into your presence with full assurance of your being a great and equitable prince. You justly conclude we are mortal, though more intelligent and valiant than your vassals. Our beasts are not deer, but of a more generous species, inclined to war, and aspiring, with a kind of ambition, to the glory of their masters: and, as to our arms, they are made by human industry, without the assistance of magic, an abominable art which we detest. I am come as ambassador to your majesty from the most powerful monarch on whom the sun

sheds his beams at his first rising. He desires to be your friend and confederate, and though, according to your traditions, he might pretend to be more absolute in these dominions, he makes no other use of his authority but to promote your advantage, and to convince you that you have departed from the worship of the true God, to pay your adoration to insensible pieces of wood, carved out by your own hands, to whom you inhumanly sacrifice your fellow-creatures." He made use of other arguments to induce Montezuma to renounce his idolatry, and having ended his speech, the emperor arose, saying, "I accept the friendship and confederacy of the great descendant of Quezalcoal, but all gods are good, and yours may be so without offence to mine. In the mean time repose yourselves; you are in your own house, where you shall be punctually served with all possible respect." He then ordered the present to be brought that he designed for Cortes, which was very valuable, consisting of pieces of gold, cotton robes, and other curiosities, and, at the same time, with an air of chearful generosity, he distributed some jewels among the Spaniards who were present.

The next day Cortes demanded an audience, which was immediately granted. He then dressed himself in his best apparel, without quitting his arms, and set out for the palace with Juan Velasquez de Leon, Diego de Ordaz, Pedro de Alverado, and six or seven favourite soldiers. The streets were crowded with vast multitudes of people, who made way to let them pass, often pronouncing amidst their acclamations the word teule or god, which pleased the Spaniards, from an opinion that this extraordinary veneration would contribute to their

success. At some distance appeared Montezuma's palace, a prodigious pile of building, which had thirty gates that opened to as many different streets. The principal front took up one side of a spacious square, and was of red, white and black jasper, beautifully polished. When the Spaniards approached this entrance, the Mexicans, who accompanied Cortes, walked up to one side of it, then retiring, formed a semicircle, that they might enter two a-breast. After having passed three squares, they reached Montezuma's apartments, which they admired for their largeness and furniture. The walls were covered with cotton hangings, interwoven with the fur of rabbits, and the inner rooms were adorned with a very beautiful kind of tapestry, composed of feathers. The floors were covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypress, cedar, and other kinds of odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and relievos; and though the use of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the ceilings were so contrived, that the planks supported each other. In these rooms were officers, who guarded the entrance, and at the door of the antichamber were the nobility and magistrates, who received Cortes with much civility, but detained him till they had taken off their sandals, and rich mantles, and put on others that made a less splendid appearance; for it was considered presumptuous to appear in their richest apparel before the emperor. Montezuma, who was standing with all his ensigns of royalty about him, advanced some steps to meet Cortes, who coming forward with a low bow, the emperor laid his hands upon his shoulders, and smiling on the rest of the Spaniards, seated himself; then desiring them to sit, he entered into conversation with

great freedom, asking several questions relating to the manners and politics of the eastern countries, and made very judicious remarks upon the answers of Cortes. He then mentioned, how much the Mexicans were obliged to their first king, and seemed to rejoice in having the prophecy fulfilled in his reign.

Some days after this interview, Montezuma, who was very fond of his own religion, conducted Cortes and some of his principal officers, with father Bartholomew, to the chief temple, in order to let them see its magnificence; but before they were admitted, he cautioned them to behave with decency. The gates of this spacious edifice being opened, he himself explained the particulars of their worship with such solemnity, as excited the laughter of the Spaniards, whose rudeness on this occasion is not excuseable. Cortes being here transported by a ridiculous and unreasonable zeal, cried to Montezuma, "Allow me, Sire, to fix the cross of Christ before these images of the devil, and you will see whether they deserve adoration or contempt." Both Montezuma and the priests were enraged at this proposal; the former desired them to withdraw, and following them to the threshold, added, "You may return to your house, my friends, but I shall ask pardon of my gods for having suffered you to proceed so far." Yet, notwithstanding his zeal for his religion, he was so far from thinking of tyrannizing over the consciences of the Spaniards, that he ordered workmen to be sent to assist them in fitting up a chapel, in which both he and his chiefs were frequently present when mass was celebrated.

It may here be proper to give a more particular

description of the city of Mexico, which was divided into two parts, one, where the meaner sort resided, was called Tlatelulco; while the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility, had the name of Mexico, which from thence was given to the whole city, that contained 60,000 families. This capital stood in a spacious plain, encompassed by high rocks and mountains, from which many rivulets falling down into the valley, formed several lakes. These lakes communicated with each other. The city of Mexico was situated on an island, in the middle of the lower lake, which was joined to the main land by three noble causeways. The streets were straight and large, and had a number of canals, crowded with barks and canoes of different sizes. All the public edifices, and houses of the nobility, were built of stone; and the dwellings of the common people were so laid out, as to form several courts, in which merchandize was exposed to sale.

Their temples were spacious and magnificent, particularly that dedicated to Vitzliputzli, their supreme deity, the god of war. A wall of hewn stone, on which were cut wreaths of serpents, surrounded a large square, on each side of which was a gate, over which stood four statues of stone, representing some inferior deities. At a small distance from the principal gate was a place of worship, flat on the top, the four sides of which were encompassed by trunks of trees, with holes bored in them at equal distances, through which passed several bars, run through the heads of men that had been sacrificed. In the centre of the square stood a lofty stone tower, with a stair-case that consisted of 120 steps, by which the people ascended to the top, where was a flat pavement, 40 feet square, beautifully paved with

jasper, and surrounded with a ballustrade. At the top of the stairs stood two marble statues, supporting two large candlesticks, of an extraordinary make. A little farther was a green stone, raised about three feet from the pavement, on which the priests extended the miserable victim, while they opened his breast and plucked out his heart. Beyond this stone stood a chapel of excellent workmanship, which fronted the stair-case, and here the idol was placed, upon a high altar surruonded with curtains. The idol was in the form of a man sitting in a chair, sustained by a blue globe, furnished with four rods, which projected from the sides, each terminating in a serpent's head. By these rods the idol was carried by the priests on their shoulders, when it was exposed to public view; on the head of the god was a helmet composed of plumes, in the form of a bird, with a bill and crest of burnished gold. The countenance of this deity was horrible; his forehead and nose were swathed with blue bands; in his right hand he held a curling serpent, and in the other four arrows and a shield, with five white plumes placed in the form of a cross. On the left hand was another idol, Tlalock, of the same size and form, the supposed brother of Vitzliputzli, and equally revered by the Mexicans. The ornaments of these temples were of inestimable value.

Montezuma had, besides the palace in which he kept his court, several magnificent pleasure-houses, one of which was a noble building, supported by pillars of jasper. In this edifice he had an aviary of those birds that are most remarkable on account of their singing or feathers; and these were so numerous, that 300 men were said to be employed in attending them. At a small distance was another

very large edifice, where Montezuma's fowlers resided, and took care of his birds of prey; and in the second square of this last building were kept the wild beasts.

In Montezuma's armories a great number of workmen were employed in making shafts for arrows, grinding flints for the points, and in forming all kinds of offensive and defensive weapons. In another building the arms were deposited in great order; these consisted of two-handed swords edged with flint, darts, javelins, bows and arrows, head-pieces, breast-plates, quilted jackets, and others made of skins, which they carried rolled up on their left shoulders, and put them on when they were ready to engage. All these several houses had spacious and well-cultivated gardens, in which were a great variety of flowers and medicinal herbs.

But the most singular of all Montezuma's edifices was, his house of sorrow, to which he retired in case of public calamity, or the death of a favourite relation. It was well calculated for promoting gloomy reflections, for the walls, roofs and ornaments, were black; and no light was admitted but what proceeded from some narrow openings in the walls, which were but just sufficient to discover the gloomy objects within. Montezuma had also several country retreats, and large forests for the chace of wild beasts.

When an emperor was elected, he was obliged to obtain some victory over his enemies, before he was permitted to ascend the throne; but having thus proved himself qualified for the task of reigning, he made his public entry with great state and solemnity, attended by the nobility, ministers, and priests, and proceeded to the temple of the god of

war, where, having offered the customary sacrifice, he was clothed in the royal robes, a golden sword, as an emblem of justice, was put into his right hand, and into his left, a bow and arrows, to signify his power and command in war.

Montezuma had two sorts of guards, the one of 200 nobles, who were obliged to attend every day at the palace, to guard his person. This was for the purpose of keeping the great men in a state of dependance. The other guards were composed of soldiers, who filled the courts of the palace, and were posted in bodies at the principal gates.

Montezuma had two wives, and a great number of concubines. Though he often eat in public, it was always alone. He sat on a little stool, at a large low table; the dishes were brought in by twenty women, richly ornamented, who served up the meat, and presented him with the cup. He drank several sorts of liquor, one of which was a kind of beer made of maize. After his meals he took a kind of chocolate, and smoked tobacco mixed with perfumes. At proper intervals he was entertained with music, composed of pipes and instruments made of sea-shells, accompanied by voices, which formed an agreeable concert. The subject of these songs was generally the memorable actions of their kings, and the exploits of their ancestors. They had also merry songs, used in dancing, when the voice was accompanied with two little drums, made of hollow pieces of wood, of different sizes and sounds; these were principally used in a dance called Mitates, practised at festivals, in which the nobles and common people used shouting and odd gesticulations, mingling together without distinction, and drank till they became intoxicated.

The Mexicans believed the immortality of the soul, and that it was rewarded or punished in a future state, but buried gold and silver with the deceased to defray the expence of their journey, which they imagined to be long and troublesome. When the emperor died, his houshold officers and favourites were obliged to accompany him.

The Mexican year, as well as ours, consisted of 365 days, but was divided into eighteen months of twenty days each, and, at the end of the year five days appropriated to pleasure, and a cessation from business, were added to make it answer the course of the sun; they had also a kind of week of thirteen days, to which different names were given, and a much longer period, stiled ages, which consisted of four weeks of years. This large period was represented in a very singular manner. In the centre of a circle, divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing a year for each, they painted the sun, from whose rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each quarter; and here the sun had his prosperous or adverse aspects, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, which inclosed the other, they marked with their characters the chief occurrences of the age, and these secular annals were considered as public instruments that served for proofs of historical facts.

The Mexicans had no written laws, but were governed by the customs and institutions of their ancestors. Their trials were summary; murder, theft, adultery, and any disrespect to the emperor, were punished with death.

7

CHAP. VI.

Cortes receives alarming intelligence from Vera Cruz; makes Montezuma prisoner, and puts him in irons. A conspiracy against the Spaniards discovered by Montezuma, who declares Charles V., king of Spain, his successor. Arrival of a fleet sent against Cortes by Velasquez.

THE Mexicans seemed to vie with each other in expressing their regard for the Spaniards; they were daily entertained with some new diversion, at which Montezuma appeared, a condescension that inspired the people with a high reverence and esteem for these strangers. He appeared particularly fond of Cortes, spending great part of his time with him, and contracted an acquaintance with his captains, to whom he frequently made presents, in which he distinguished the merit of each with great discernment. Thus the Spaniards enjoyed an agreeable repose; but were at length alarmed by intelligence from Vera Cruz, brought by two Tlascalan soldiers in disguise. The letter informed Cortes, that some of the Indians in alliance with the Spaniards, complained to Juan de Escalante, that Qualpopoca, one of Montezuma's generals, had assembled a great body of forces on the frontiers of Zempoalla, where they levied contributions with great cruelty. Escalante sent to desire the Mexican general to suspend hostilities until further orders should come from Mexico, where the Spaniards, the allies of those people, were entertained by Montezuma with great hospitality. But Qualpopoca sending a very insolent answer, Escalante was so provoked, that he marched against

him at the head of 40 Spaniards and 2,000 Indians, and coming to an engagement, he put the Mexicans to flight; notwithstanding his being almost entirely abandoned by his Indian allies, he pursued them to the next town, where he attacked them with such resolution, that he entirely routed and dislodged them. This victory, however, cost the Spaniards very dear, for Juan de Escalante was mortally wounded, six of the soldiers also received several wounds, and Juan de Arguillo, a man of extraordinary stature, was carried off alive. In this letter the council of Vera Cruz desired Cortes to appoint them a new governor, and to give directions relating to their affairs.

Cortes being greatly concerned at the loss of Juan de Escalante, communicated the letter to his captains; desiring that each of them would give his opinion freely at their next meeting, and the following morning sent for some Indians of his army, when having asked them, if they had lately perceived any change in the behaviour or discourse of the Mexicans, they informed him, that they had heard some of the people talk of breaking down the causeway, and that there was a report that a Spaniard's head had been presented to Montezuma, who immediately ordered it to be concealed.

From these circumstances, and particularly that of the head, which Cortes supposed belonged to Arguillo, he immediately concluded that the Mexicans were resolved on his destruction, and that Montezuma himself had concerted the ruin of the Spaniards; he therefore immediately assembled his council, composed of the captains and some favourite soldiers, and having told them the hints he had received from the Indians, asked their advice. Some

proposed, that that they should retire privately in the night: others that they should obtain a passport from Montezuma, and then retire publicly, and march to the relief of Vera Cruz; but the greatest part were of opinion, that they should continue at Mexico without seeming to know what had passed at Vera Cruz, until they could find a proper opportunity for retreating with safety. However, none of these plans were approved by Cortes, who represented, that the project of retreating by stealth, was equally dangerous and disgraceful, since it would lower them in the esteem of their allies, who might desert them as dastardly fugitives, and perhaps recommend themselves to Montezuma's favour, by joining his forces in order to cut off their retreat. He observed, that nothing could sink them lower in the opinion of the Mexicans, than their demanding a passport, to retire from a city, which they had entered in spite of all opposition; and that if the emperor really sought their destruction, he would grant them a safe conduct, with a view of depriving them of all apprehensions, and attacking them when it was least expected; and as to their staying at Mexico, he thought it would be highly imprudent, without taking some resolute step for their safety. He therefore proposed seizing Montezuma, conveying him to their quarters, and detaining him there as a hostage for the sincerity of his people. Such a bold action, he alleged, would fill the Mexicans with consternation, and so raise the character of the Spaniards, that they would never dare to combine against him for the future; especially when they found that he had discovered the transactions at Vera Cruz, which they would impute to some supernatural intelligence. This

proposal he supported with all his eloquence, and with such success, that it was unanimously adopted.

Cortes having chosen the hour, when the Spaniards were accustomed to wait upon Montezuma, for the execution of this project, ordered his people to arm themselves in their quarters, privately to saddle their horses, and to wait without noise for farther instructions. He then occupied all the avenues to the palace with small scattered detachments, and directing thirty picked men to follow him at a distance, went thither attended by four of his captains, who, as they usually carried their arms with them, excited no suspicion now. Montezuma, according to custom, came out of his apartment to receive the visit, and his servants retired, as usual, to another part of the palace, when Cortes with an air of resentment, complained of the Mexican general, for attacking his confederates in violation of a peace, under which they thought themselves secure; for murdering a Spaniard in cold blood, and vindicating his perfidious conduct, by declaring that he acted in obedience to his majesty's commands.

On hearing this charge, Montezuma changed colour, but denied it with marks of confusion; when Cortes, pretending to believe him innocent, replied, that after such a declaration made by his general, neither the Spaniards nor his own subjects would be undeceived, unless he took some extraordinary step to efface the impression made by such a calumny. That he was therefore come to beg he would repair with him to the Spanish quarters, where he should be treated with all the reverence and respect due to his majesty, until his character should be vindicated to the satisfaction of all man-

kind. Montezuma, amazed and incensed at the boldness of this request, replied, that princes of his rank were not accustomed to go tamely to prison, nor would his subjects permit his so far forgetting his dignity, as to stoop to so base a compliance. Notwithstanding Cortes made use of other arguments, he still refused to leave his palace; but, being sensible of his danger, offered to send immediately for Qualpopoca, and to deliver him, with all his officers, into Cortes's hands, and in the mean time to give him two of his sons as hostages for the performance of his promise. Cortes, however, was not satisfied with these expedients; and his captains, apprehending that the delay might be dangerous, began to grow clamorous; and, among others, Velasquez de Leon called aloud, since he will not hear reason, let us seize him by force, or kill him on the spot. The emperor, hearing this uttered in an angry tone, desired to know what he said; when Mariana, to whom he addressed himself, earnestly exhorted him, as his own vassal and subject, to comply without hesitation, in order to preserve his life; which had such an effect, that he instantly rose from his seat, and said to Cortes, "I trust myself into your hands, let us go to your quarters, for so the gods have decreed." He then ordered his servants to get ready his equipage, told his ministers that he had resolved to pass some days in the Spanish quarters, and ordered the captain of his guard to arrest Qualpopoca and his officers, that they might suffer for having invaded Zempoalla.

Montezuma having given these directions, which Mariana explained to Cortes and his officers, left the palace with his usual attendants; the Spaniards marching close by his chariot, which, as usual, was

carried on the shoulders of the nobles. A report was instantly spread, that the strangers had seized the emperor, when the streets were suddenly filled with crowds of people, who rent the air with their cries, threw themselves on the ground, shedding floods of tears for their unhappy prince; and a general insurrection would have certainly followed, had not Montezuma, with a serene countenance, commanded silence, and assured the populace, that he was going of his own accord to spend a few days with his friends the Spaniards. On his reaching their quarters, he ordered his guards to disperse the populace, and his ministers to make it known, that the least tumult or disturbance should be punished with death. He then behaved in a very courteous manner to the Spanish soldiers, who came out to receive him, and having chosen an apartment, at some distance from those in the possession of the Spaniards, it was instantly fitted for his reception.

Cortes immediately doubled the guards, posted sentinels at all the avenues, and, under the pretence of keeping his majesty from being crowded, limited the number of ministers and courtiers, that waited upon Montezuma. At the same time he preserved all the formalities of decorum, and treated the emperor with his usual respect, while that prince appeared chearful and in good humour, and seemed perfectly pleased with his situation. He still exercised all the functions of royalty; his table was supplied in the most plentiful manner; and he constantly sent delicacies to Cortes and his captains, each of whom he could call by their names. All the time in which he was not employed in business, he passed among them, and sometimes he played with Cortes at tololoque, a game which consisted

of tipping down small pins of gold with little golden balls; and as they played for jewels and trinkets, the emperor distributed his winnings among the Spaniards, and Cortes shared his good fortune among Montezuma's inferior officers.

While affairs were in this situation, the captain of the guard returned with Qualpopoca, his son, and fifteen of the nobles, who had been concerned in killing the Spaniards. They had surrendered at the orders of Montezuma, and now arrived about twenty days after the beginning of his confinement. Many great men went out to meet them, and Qualpopoca was brought in upon men's shoulders. When he appeared before the emperor, the latter upbraided him for having killed the Spaniards, and delivered him, and the other officers, into the hands of Cortes, to whom they confessed themselves guilty of having violated the peace of their own accord, and of their having put Arguillo to death: but finding that the Spanish general resolved to take away their lives, they laid the whole blame upon the emperor, whose orders they had obeyed. Cortes, however, treated this as a malicious aspersion, brought them to a formal trial, in which the Spaniards were both the judges and accusers, and cruelly sentenced them to be burned alive.

To deter Montezuma from endeavouring to prevent the execution of this sentence, the general resolved on taking another surprising step. He went into that prince's presence, accompanied by Mariana, and three or four captains, with a common soldier carrying fetters, and having saluted the emperor with his usual respect, assumed a peremptory look, and, in a loud voice, told him, that Qualpopoca and his officers had acknowledged the crimes

for which they were condemned to death; but that they pretended they had only obeyed his orders. He then, with an authoritative air, commanded the emperor to be shackled, and prevented his having any communication with his ministers.

Montezuma's astonishment at being treated in this ignominious manner was so great, that he had neither power to resist, nor speech to complain, while his servants, without uttering a word, threw themselves at his feet, with signs of the deepest affliction. When he recovered from his amazement, he flew into a transport of rage; but soon recovering himself, collected his fortitude, and, believing his life in danger, waited his fate with dignity and resignation.

In the mean time Cortes ordered the Mexican general with his son, and the rest of the officers, to be conducted under a strong guard of Spaniards to a large square, where, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of people, their hands and feet were bound, after which they were placed on a large pile of broken bows and arrows, and fire being set to the pile, they were soon burned, to the amazement of all the spectators. Cortes then returned to Montezuma's apartment, and telling him with a smile, that the traitors, who had presumed to blemish his majesty's character, had now received their just punishment, he stooped down, and, with his own hands, took off the fetters. The emperor received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, embraced Cortes several times, and sitting both of them down together, entered into amicable conversation, during which the Spanish general let him know, that, as the cause of his detention was now removed, he might return to his palace whenever he pleased.

Cortes orders Motezuma to be put in Irons

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This was, however, no more than a political offer, which Cortes knew he would not embrace; for Mariana had been ordered to infuse into him a firm belief, that if he quitted the Spanish quarters before Cortes's departure, he would suffer greatly in his reputation, as soon as it should be known that he received his liberty from the hand of another. He therefore declined the offer, and made a merit of his stay, by saying, that on his return to his palace his nobility and ministers would press him to take up arms, in order to obtain satisfaction for the injury he had undergone, and therefore, out of regard to the Spaniards, he would remain where he was.

From this time the emperor seemed perfectly satisfied with his situation, and at length had such confidence in Cortes, that he represented to him the expediency of allowing him to visit some of his temples, that his subjects might no longer look on him as a prisoner, which Cortes readily granted, on condition that human sacrifices should be abolished. His first excursion was to the principal temple, which he entered with his usual pomp and attendance, and his appearance was celebrated with the joyful acclamations of the people, among whom he distributed his bounty with uncommon liberality. From this time he went abroad as often as he pleased, sometimes to the palace of his wives, and at others to his pleasure-houses, where he enjoyed his former amusements, but never without mentioning it to Cortes, who generally attended him in his parties of diversion, and seemed so highly to engross his favour, that the nobles, who had any petition to offer to the emperor, constantly solicited the general's interest, which always proved successful,

But, notwithstanding this seeming tranquillity, the broken expressions overheard by the Tlascalans, about breaking the causeways, and removing the bridges, had made such a deep impression on Cortes's mind, that he resolved to make himself master of the lake, by building two brigantines on it.

Filled with this idea, he raised Montezuma's curiosity, and obtained his permission to build two vessels for his majesty's amusement, and the instruction of his subjects. He then ordered the nails, cordage, canvas and other tackle belonging to the Spanish ships that had been sunk, to be brought from Vera Cruz, and some builders, who had enlisted as soldiers, were immediately set to work, with many of the Mexicans, who followed their directions, so that in a short time the brigantines were completed, and Montezuma resolved to embark with the Spaniards, in order to have a nearer view of this strange kind of navigation. Great preparations were made for this uncommon spectacle; a prodigious number of canoes, belonging to the emperor and others, were finely decorated, and manned with the most expert rowers. The Mexicans believed that their boats would exceed the brigantines in swiftness; however, a breeze no sooner sprung up, than these vessels unfurled their sails, and soon left the canoes at a great distance, to the astonishment of the Indians, who could form no idea of the European manner of steering and working such floating-houses, by means of which they believed the Spaniards could command the elements of fire and water. The surprise of Montezuma was mingled with joy, and he beheld the victory with the highest delight, though it was obtained over his own subjects..

The emperor now became daily more attached to Cortes, while the latter laid hold of this opportunity to desire his assistance in various things he had in view; the first of which was, the knowledge of the gold mines, their situation, how they were wrought, and what quantity of that precious metal was brought from them. Montezuma gave him very clear and distinct answers to all these inquiries; and, for his further satisfaction, allowed such of his people as he could trust, to go to the mines both within and without his dominions.

While the Spanish general continued to enjoy Montezuma's favour, a plot was formed, which neither the emperor nor Cortes could foresee. Cacumazin, the emperor's nephew, who was cacique of Tezeuco, being a young man of great vivacity, art and ambition, under the pretence of delivering Montezuma, entertained designs of ascending the throne of Mexico, either by occasioning an immediate revolution, or obtaining it by the favour of the people, at the next election. For this purpose he privately represented to the nobles and people, the disgrace of being under subjection to a handful of strangers, who dared to confine his uncle Montezuma; the audacious behaviour of Cortes, who acted as a supreme magistrate in the midst of Mexico; and had even, by a most ignominious execution, put an Indian general to death; that it was high time to stand up for their religion, their liberty, their honour, and their king, before the strangers had succours from their own country, from Tlascala and other parts; and, therefore proposed, that they should take arms and suddenly attack the Spaniards in their quarters. But the cacique of Mataleingo, who was likewise Monte-

zuma's nephew, and easily penetrated into Cacumazin's designs, which interfered with his own pretensions, opposed the execution of this scheme, insisting, that some steps should first be taken to secure the emperor's person, which would be in the greatest danger from such an attack; and finding his expedient rejected by the assembly as impracticable, resolved to inform Montezuma of the conspiracy, though he seemed to act in concert with the council, who actually appointed the day in which the enterprise was to be executed. Montezuma was no sooner informed of this plot, than he went to communicate the particulars to Cortes, who, by means of his spies, was already informed of the whole. He however returned the emperor thanks for his information, and begged to be allowed to march out with the Spaniards to chastise Cacumazin. Montezuma urged several arguments against this proposal, desired the general to leave the punishment of the offender to his care, and soon took such measures, that his nephew was seized and brought prisoner to Mexico, where he was closely confined. At this very time Cacumazin had a brother in Mexico, a youth of great courage, whom Montezuma had taken into his protection; but a few days before he had narrowly escaped a snare, which Cacumazin, in consequence of some domestic jealousies, had laid for his life. Upon this occasion Cortes dissuaded the emperor from putting a prince of the blood to death; but advised him to deprive Cacumazin of his rank and dominions, and to bestow them on his brother, who deserved them. Montezuma was greatly pleased with this advice, which he instantly communicated to his council, who applauded it as equally just and merciful; and

this had such an effect on the rest of the conspirators, that they disbanded their troops, and had recourse to the clemency of the emperor, whose pardon they obtained by the intercession of Cortes.

But though Montezuma appeared so well satisfied with Cortes, he was far from being pleased at the Spaniards staying so long in his capital, and several mortifying reflections rankled at his heart, and disturbed his repose; for he could not compare his former situation with what he had suffered from the Spaniards, and his present dependent state, without having very humbling thoughts. He here, however, proved himself so great a politician, that he entirely concealed the disposition of his mind, and when he actually proposed to Cortes the scheme he had formed to get rid of him, he was so far from conceiving it in that light, that he thought it the highest act of favour he had ever conferred on him. He took a proper opportunity to inform him, that he was now prepared to make a voluntary acknowledgment of the vassalage he owed to the king of Spain, as the succesor of Quezalcoal; that he would convoke a general assembly of his nobles for that purpose, and, as a mark of that vassalage, would present the most valuable jewels of his treasury to the Spanish monarch, and did not doubt but that his caciques would follow his example. Cortes returned him thanks for his liberality, without appearing surprised at his proposal, though he inwardly rejoiced at the prospect of being able to give his sovereign such an important earnest of the wealth he might one day reap from this acquisition.

Montezuma, agreeably to his promise, dispatched couriers to convene all the caciques of his empire, according to a custom practised on important oc-

casions. They came with equal splendor and expedition, and the council was assembled in the king's apartment, in the presence of Cortes and his captains. The emperor began with a studied speech, in which he reminded them of the obligations they were under to him as their sovereign and benefactor, and having assured them, that he had both consulted and obtained the approbation of the gods, with respect to the cause of their meeting, repeated the story and prophecy of Quezalcoal, declared that the king of Spain was the descendant of that mighty prince, and consequently the lawful sovereign of the Mexican empire, to whom both he and they were bound to pay obedience, as a mark of which he had selected for an offering to the king of Spain the most precious jewels of his treasury, and he did not doubt but that they would follow his example.

Montezuma was unable to pronounce this speech without interruption; he sighed from time to time, and on his owning himself the vassal of another prince, the tears trickled down his cheeks. Cortes then rising, declared, that it was not his sovereign's intention to dispossess Montezuma, or to occasion the least innovation in his government, and that he only required them to settle his right to the succession in favour of his descendants, at which Montezuma resuming fresh courage, finished his speech. The whole assembly were amazed, and struck dumb with a proposal that appeared so inconsistent with the dignity and known character of the emperor, and considering it as extorted by compulsion, they groaned bitterly, gave the strongest marks of anxiety and perturbation of mind, and with a solemn silence contemplated each other. At

length the prime minister, who was well acquainted with the emperor's disposition, took upon himself to answer, in the name of the whole assembly, and assured Montezuma, that as all the nobles esteemed him their natural lord and sovereign, they would chearfully obey whatever he thought proper to propose, and follow his majesty's example to the utmost of their power. The whole assembly expressed their assent to this declaration, when Cortes, by means of his interpreter, made an artful speech, in which he returned thanks to Montezuma, and all present, for this proof of their respect, which he accepted in the name of his king. It is probable that the sole intention of Montezuma, in this transaction, was to forward the departure of his guests, without the least design of fulfilling the terms of this submission.

The emperor, having concluded this affair to his own satisfaction, resolved immediately to recover that liberty and independence, for which he had so long sighed in secret; and speedily delivered to Cortes the present he had provided, consisting of curiosities in gold, and many precious stones; particularly a kind esteemed by the Mexicans above all others, which in colour resembled emeralds, and many beautiful pictures, formed of variegated feathers. Indeed the present seemed the ransom of a great prince, who thought he could not purchase his liberty at too high a price; and the liberality of the nobles was such as might be expected from wealthy chiefs, who vied with each other in loyalty and ostentation. Cortes appointed a receiver and treasurer, who were directed to take an exact account of what was received, and, in a few days, exclusive of jewels and pieces of curious workman-

ship, they had amassed as much gold, as, when melted down, amounted to 600,000 pesoes in bars. Of this, one-fifth part was set aside for the king of Spain; a fifth of the remainder for Cortes, to defray the expences of the army; another fifth was allotted to reimburse Velasquez, and Cortes's friends in the island of Cuba; the remainder was divided amongst the officers and soldiers, including those at Vera Cruz. All who were in the same posts had equal shares, but of the private men those were best rewarded, who had most distinguished themselves. This however produced loud complaints, which were soon silenced by Cortes satisfying the discontented from his own share.

Montezuma having thus acknowledged his subjection to the king of Spain, sent for Cortes, and, with an air of greater dignity than usual, told him, that as his business was now dispatched, he ought to think of departing, since his staying any longer would be attributed to improper motives. This intimation, and the manner in which it was delivered, was so unexpected, that Cortes was some time before he could recollect himself, so as to make a proper reply. He now perceived the design of convoking the assembly, and suspected that Montezuma had privately assembled some forces, in order to support this proposal. He therefore sent orders to the soldiers to take to their arms, and excused his embarrassment at seeing his majesty more moved than usual; assuring him, that he was far from desiring to delay his departure; that he came to desire his permission to build some vessels to carry the Spaniards to their own country, as his majesty well knew they had lost the ships in which they had sailed to his coast.

The emperor, who was under some apprehensions with respect to the answer he might receive, no sooner heard this artful reply, than he embraced Cortes affectionately, and having now lost his fears, told him with great complacency, that he did not intend to hasten his departure before he was provided for the voyage, and that he should be speedily furnished with every thing he wanted. He accordingly gave orders for cutting down wood, under the direction of the Spaniards; Cortes seemed in equal haste to be gone, and dispatched his builders to Vera Cruz; but he really determined to preserve his footing at Mexico, till the return of his commissaries from Spain, for he expected that they would bring with them a supply of troops, and directions for his future conduct.

He thus for the present quieted the minds of Montezuma and his subjects; but a very few days produced an extraordinary alteration in his affairs. The emperor received intelligence that eighteen ships had appeared upon the coast, which alarmed the Mexicans, and revived the suspicions they had entertained of Cortes. Montezuma immediately communicated this intelligence to Cortes; and, at the same time, told him, that it must be unnecessary for him to proceed in building ships, since he might embark in those sent from his own country. But Cortes, supposing that they were sent to him from Spain with a supply of troops and ammunition, answered that he would immediately embark, if they were going to return to any of the king of Spain's dominions; but that it would be imprudent to desist from building, until he should be particularly informed of their destination. A few days after this conversation, Cortes received a letter from

Gonzalo de Sandoval, by which he was informed that this fleet contained 800 men, and was sent by Diego Velasquez to oppose him and his designs in Mexico. He received this mortifying account while he was in conversation with Montezuma; and was obliged to use all his prudence and resolution, to conceal the emotions he felt on this occasion from the observation of that prince. However he succeeded in his endeavours, and retired, in order to deliberate on this unexpected event. But it is here necessary to mention the reception Cortes's commissaries found at the court of Spain, and the causes that induced Velasquez to fit out such a fleet against him.

CHAP. VII.

The proceedings of the commissaries sent by Cortes to the court of Spain; second expedition formed by Diego Velasquez for the destruction of Cortes; its arrival at Vera Cruz; Cortes endeavours to come to terms of accommodation; failure of the expedition of Velasquez.

IT has been already observed, that Cortes and the council of Vera Cruz sent Alonzo Hernandez Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo with letters for the king of Spain, together with the first tribute sent from New Spain. These commissaries, contrary to the orders they had received, touched at the island of Cuba, in order that Francisco de Montejo might have the pleasure of visiting his family and relations. This, however, brought them into great danger, for Diego Velasquez being informed of their arrival, immediately dispatched two light vessels, well manned, with orders to seize the ship

and every person on board. Montejo, however, escaped; but was obliged to sail through the Gulf of Florida, a passage previously unattempted.

The voyage after this was very prosperous; but the commissaries arrived at Seville at a very unfortunate crisis, for the chaplain, Benito Martin, who had been sent by Velasquez to solicit the commission of king's lieutenant, had obtained his suit, sent the commission to Cuba, and was then waiting at Seville for a ship, in order to return thither himself. This man represented Cortes as a pirate, who had clandestinely sailed with several vessels which belonged to Velasquez; and, in consequence of his complaint, the directors of trade ordered the ship and cargo to be seized; but, as a great favour, permitted the two captains to apply to the king for redress. They accordingly set out for Barcelona, but there found that his majesty was at Corunna, where he was preparing to pass over to Flanders, in order to accept of the imperial crown. They therefore set out for that city, and in their way visited Martin Cortes, who, with equal pleasure and surprise, heard of the glory and success of his son, whose death he had long deplored, and persuaded him to accompany them to the emperor, in hopes that his character and grey hairs would give a sanction to their solicitations. They had the good fortune to overtake the court at Tordesillas, just as Cortes's presents arrived with the Indians of the New Conquest from Seville; for these being upon the emperor's own account, they durst not detain them. His majesty gave them a very gracious reception, and was extremely surprised at their account of this new discovered empire, and in several conferences with them inquired minutely into every

particular relating to the conquest, while the Indians and the presents that were before him, gave a colour to all the wonderful things they related. But as he was then on his departure to Germany, he referred Cortes's letters and solicitations to cardinal Adrian, and the council, to whom he had consigned the management of affairs during his absence; desiring that they would find out some method of doing justice to Velasquez, and, at the same time, to encourage Cortes. But the president of this council being a friend of Velasquez, represented Cortes as a rebel, upon whom they could have no dependance. They, however, did not think proper to give him an immediate cause of discontent, though they resolved not to send him any part of the supplies he had so earnestly requested; and all that the deputies could obtain was, a small share of what they had brought, for their own subsistence; after which they for two years attended the court without the least success.

In the mean time Diego Velasquez received the commission of king's lieutenant, not only of Cuba, but of all the countries that should be discovered or conquered by his means, which, together with his being assured of the protection of the bishop of Burgos, president of the Indies, enabled him to gratify his ambition and resentment; whence he resolved to punish Cortes as a rebel and deserter, and to appropriate to himself the honour of conquering the Mexican empire. With these views he expended the greatest part of his fortune in equipping a squadron, which consisted of 800 Spanish infantry, 80 horse, 12 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions, arms and ammunition. The command of this squadron he bestowed upon Pam-

philio de Narvaez, a man of distinction and capacity, but vain, haughty, and opinionated; and to this person he gave the title of his lieutenant, with private instructions to apprehend Cortes, and send him over to Cuba in irons, together with his principal officers, in case they refused to abandon his interests; after which he was to take possession, in the name of Velasquez, of all the countries that had been conquered, as being within his jurisdiction.

While these preparations were making, the monks of St. Geronimo, who presided over the royal audience at St. Domingo, and whose jurisdiction extended over the other islands, were informed of his designs; and foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend them, sent Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to persuade Diego to desist from his enterprise, and, in case his arguments failed, to command him, under great penalties, to desist from undertaking what might impede Cortes's measures.

This minister arrived in the island of Cuba when the fleet was just ready to sail, and immediately used all his elocution and influence, to divert Velasquez from his purpose: among other arguments, he represented the mischief that might be done to the interest of Spain, should the natives be witnesses of a civil war among their conquerors; and exhorted him to leave his complaint to the examination of the royal chamber, which would not fail of doing him justice. But Velasquez being deaf to all his remonstrances, and elevated by the title he had acquired, to the greatest degree of pride and insolence, de Ayllon caused his orders and protest to be notified by a scrivener; and then, dissembling his resentment, obtained leave to accompany

the expedition, under the pretext of gratifying his curiosity. To this de Ayllon was induced, by the hope of being able to act as mediator between Narvaez and Cortes; and thus prevent the ill consequences, that might arise from the resentment of Velasquez. With the same view Andres de Duero, the secretary of Velasquez, who had befriended Cortes in the beginning of his fortune, engaged in the expedition; and the squadron, sailing with a favourable wind, soon came to an anchor in the port of Ulua.

Narvaez, on his arrival on the coast of Mexico, sent a party of soldiers on shore to obtain intelligence, who soon returned with two or three straggling Spaniards, by whom he was made acquainted with whatever had happened at Vera Cruz and Mexico. When Narvaez had received this information, he determined to attempt obtaining the fortress of Vera Cruz by treaty; and for this purpose sent a public notary, and a clergyman, named Juan Ruis de Guevara, escorted by three soldiers, to the governor, Gonzalo de Sandoval. This undertaking, however, proved fruitless. Sandoval, faithful to the interest of Cortes, and irritated by the menaces with which the demand was accompanied, arrested the commissioners and escort, and then sent to inform Cortes of the steps he had taken. He then summoned his Indian allies to assist him, in case he should be attacked, put his fortress in the best order possible, and, like an able and vigilant commander, made all the necessary dispositions for sustaining a siege.

Cortes was under the greatest anxiety, on being informed of these transactions, being fully sensible of the dangerous situation he was in; yet, in the

presence of Montezuma, he wore an air of tranquillity, telling him, that those who had newly arrived, were come with a second embassy to support the propositions he had already made, and, according to the custom of his country, had brought an army along with them; but that he would prevail on them to return, and as his majesty's generosity had left nothing either for him or them to desire, he would go along with them.

Cortes's uneasiness was, however, very far from rendering him inactive: he resolved, if possible, to bring about a reconciliation with Narvaez; but, in case that should not succeed, prepared with the greatest diligence for war. He gave private instructions to three or four of his soldiers, who were permitted to visit the mines of Chinautla, to persuade the caciques of that country to levy 2,000 soldiers for his service; for they were a warlike people, and had already privately offered him their friendship. At the same time he purchased 300 lances from them, made of a very tough wood, armed with points of tempered copper, and distributed them among his soldiers, bayonets not being then invented, to preserve them from Narvaez's horse, which gave him great apprehensions.

While Cortes was taking these prudent steps, Pedro de Solis arrived from Vera Cruz with the prisoners sent by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who had been carried in chairs on the shoulders of the natives. When Cortes, being informed of their coming, went out to receive them with a greater number of attendants than ordinary; he instantly caused their fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great appearance of cordiality, and was particularly civil to father Guevara, telling him, that

he would chastise Gonzalo de Sandoval for his showing so little regard to his person and character. He then conducted him to his own apartment, complimented him with a place at his table, and more than once intimated, that he felt the greatest satisfaction at the arrival of Narvaez, with whom he had formerly lived in the most intimate friendship. He took him to Montezuma, and made him a witness of the favours he received from that great emperor, and of the profound respect with which he was treated by the Mexican princes; and greatly allayed the violence of his temper, by making him a present of some valuable jewels. His companions also had a share in his bounty; and then, without dropping the least hint of his being desirous of their employing their good offices with Narvaez towards an accommodation, he in four days after their arrival suffered them to return, when warmly engaged in his interest.

Cortes, after having dismissed them in this courteous manner, allowed some time for his wise and politic behaviour to produce the desired effect, and then sent friar Bartholomew de Olmedo with letters for Narvaez, de Ayllon, and the secretary Andres de Duero; and, at the same time, furnished him with a stock of jewels, with orders to distribute them according to his own sagacity and penetration. In his letter to Narvaez he welcomed him to the Mexican coast, and gave him an account of the conquest; describing the warlike genius of the Indians, with the power and grandeur of Montezuma; expatiated on the ill consequences that would infallibly attend a misunderstanding among the Spaniards; reminded him of his duty to the king, and the friendship which had formerly sub-

sisted between them; desired to know his orders, which, if they were from his majesty, he promised to obey, even though he was commanded to desist from the enterprise in which he had so far succeeded; and intimated the mischief that would be produced, with respect to the king's interest, if he only intended to prosecute the unjust resentment of Velasquez, whom he had not only resolved to indemnify for the expence of equipping the ships with which he had arrived, but also to give a share in the glory and advantage of his success; and concluded with telling Narvaez, that he did not use arguments for want of strength, and that he knew how to maintain his own rights.

Narvaez had fixed his quarters at Zempoalla, where he was received with great hospitality by the cacique, who at first imagined that he was come in order to assist his friend Cortes; but he was soon undeceived, for though Navarez had no interpreters, his actions spoke but too plainly. He treated the Zempoallans in the most oppressive and imperious manner, seized the furniture and jewels which Cortes had left in his own house, and his soldiers were suffered to commit every act of rapine and violence.

Guevara, on his return from Mexico, waited on him, expatiated on the magnificence of that city, the kind reception he had met with from Cortes, the astonishing degree of favour he was in with Montezuma, and his great desire to live in friendship with Narvaez; when that imperious officer interrupting him, bid him return to Cortes, by whose artifices he had been cajoled, and then, with the greatest marks of rudeness and disrespect, thrust him from his presence. But though the priest was

repulsed by Narvaez, he and his companions made a great impression on the minds of the soldiers; to whom they extolled Cortes in such a manner, as not only made them desire an accommodation with that general, but inspired them with a dislike to their own commander.

Olmedo soon followed Guevara, and delivered Cortes's letters to Narvaez, but could scarcely prevail on him to peruse the contents; which, however, he superficially skimmed over, out of compliment to the function of the bearer. It was in vain that Olmedo made a very eloquent and pathetic speech, on the necessity of their acting in concert, in order to promote the advantage of Spain, and the fatal effects that would attend their animosity. Narvaez replied with indecent heat, that the principal design of his coming was, to chastise Cortes as a rebellious subject; that he would instantly set a price on his head, and proclaim all his adherents traitors; and that he had force sufficient to wrest the conquest from his hands, without having the least occasion to consult the accomplices and abettors of his rebellion. Olmedo, however, still preserved his temper, and let him know, that, before he arrived at Mexico, he would be obliged to fight his way through entire provinces of warlike Indians, who were the friends and confederates of Cortes. That his Spaniards were resolved to die by his side, and that his cause would be supported by Montezuma; a prince, who had such power, that for every single soldier Narvaez had under his command, he was able to raise a numerous army.

Olmedo having taken his leave, visited de Ayllon, and the secretary Andres de Duero, who promised to exert all their power and influence in producing

an accommodation. He then mingled with the captains and soldiers of his acquaintance, explained the nature of his embassy, represented the necessity of reconciling the two commanders, distributed the jewels and other curiosities he brought with him with great judgment, and would soon have formed a strong party in favour of Cortes, had not Narvaez, who had been informed of his proceedings, ordered him to be brought before him, reviled him as being a mutinous and seditious traitor, and obliged him to depart immediately from Zempoalla.

The licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon at this instant entered the room, and proposed, that before de Olmedo was dismissed, the officers should be assembled, in order to deliberate on a proper answer to be sent to Cortes. But this proposal was rejected by Narvaez with great indignation; and, in order to prevent any farther dispute, he ordered war to be declared against Cortes, as a rebel and traitor, assigned a considerable reward to any who should take him dead or alive, and commanded the army to prepare for a march. De Ayllon, exasperated at this instance of violence and irregularity, ordered the crier to desist, and commanded Narvaez not to stir a foot from Zempoalla on pain of death, or to employ the forces without the unanimous consent of the whole army. On which Narvaez ordered him to be apprehended, sent on board a vessel, and instantly transported to Cuba. At the same time de Olmedo set out on his return to Mexico, while the principal officers in Narvaez's army were shocked at his insolence, and the inferior soldiers loudly murmured at his conduct.

De Olmedo, on his arrival at Mexico, informed Cortes of the implacability and intemperate be-

haviour of Narvaez; he encouraged him by mentioning the disposition of the soldiers, which he immediately resolved to take advantage of; and the Spaniards at Mexico were no sooner informed of his having taken this resolution, than they expressed the utmost zeal and impatience to be in action; for, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, they had such confidence in the valour, ability and discretion of their general, that they thought it almost impossible for them not to conquer when under his command.

Cortes was unwilling to damp their alacrity by any unnecessary delay, and therefore repaired to Montezuma's apartment, in order to acquaint him with his intended march; but was not a little surprised at hearing that prince begin the discourse, and saying that he had from different parts received information, that the Spanish general at Zempoalla was come with very ill designs against him and his followers; and though he did not wonder that the two chiefs should be at enmity from private animosity, he could not help thinking, that as they were the vassals of one prince, and headed armies of contrary factions, one of them must necessarily be a rebel to his sovereign. Cortes was somewhat startled at this declaration, but immediately availed himself of that presence of mind, which never forsook him in his greatest emergencies, and replied without hesitation, that the accounts received by his majesty were undoubtedly true, and he was come to lay the same intelligence before him; but that Narvaez was not to be considered as a rebel, but rather as a person who proceeded upon wrong principles through mistake, for he was come as lieutenant or substitute from a misinformed gover-

nor, who resided in a remote province, and was therefore unacquainted with the last resolutions of the court of Spain, and really imagined that the embassy to the emperor of Mexico was an affair that belonged to his office; but that all this misunderstanding would vanish as soon as he should lay his dispatches before that lieutenant. He had therefore resolved immediately to march with part of his forces to Zempoalla, in order to dispose them to return on board their ships; and that he should soon convince them, that they ought to respect the subjects of the Mexican empire, as a people under the king of Spain's protection.

Montezuma was much pleased with the prospect of getting rid of such disagreeable visitors, of whose exactions and acts of oppression he was particularly informed; but imagining that Cortes might be exposed to some danger, by attempting to bring them to reason, he offered to furnish him with an army, that should be entirely under his command; and repeated this offer with such earnestness, that Cortes was fully convinced of his sincerity, though he declined accepting it, with many expressions of acknowledgment, from his having but little confidence in the attachment of the Mexican soldiers to his interest.

Cortes resolved upon leaving eighty Spaniards in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alverado, an excellent officer, who by his engaging behaviour had already acquired a great share of Montezuma's friendship. He gave him directions relating to his conduct, with respect to the emperor, and the soldiers were ordered to obey their captain, and serve Montezuma with the greatest respect. These precautions being taken, Cortes

dispatched a message to Gonzalo de Sandoval, with orders to entrust the confederate Indians with the fortress of Vera Cruz, and to march with the Spaniards to meet him at an appointed place of rendezvous. He then having obtained the necessary supplies of provisions on the road, and procured a body of Indians to carry the baggage, set out on his march.

The Spaniards marched with the chearfulness and circumspection of veterans, inured to the hardships and dangers of war. They took the road to Cholula, at which city they met with a hospitable reception, and, proceeding towards Tlascala, found, at half a league's distance from that city, a splendid appearance of the nobility and senate, who received their visit with great demonstrations of joy and respect. After staying there a short time, they marched to Matalequita, a town of Indian friends, where they were joined by Gonzalo de Sandoval and his troop, with seven soldiers from Narvaez's army, by whom he was informed of every thing that had passed in the enemy's quarters before they deserted. He had also intelligence of a later date from two soldiers, who had gone from Vera Cruz to Zempoalla, disguised as Indians, carrying baskets of fruit, which they exchanged with the Spaniards for glass beads and other toys; and so dexterously assumed the simplicity of the natives, that they were permitted to range, without the least suspicion, through every part of the quarters; they even ventured to repeat this visit, and, as a proof of the carelessness with which Narvaez caused the watch to be kept, took from the very parade a horse belonging to a captain, who was one of Cortes's most bitter enemies.

In order to gain time until the arrival of the Indians from Chinantla, Cortes sent de Olmedo a second time with proposals for an accommodation; but he meeting with no success, Juan Velasquez de Leon was sent to use his influence with Narvaez, from the hope that his being related to Diego de Velasquez would render his mediation the more acceptable. Narvaez had, indeed, written to this officer, to exhort him to espouse his kinsman's cause, and had offered him a very advantageous post in his army; but this letter Juan had delivered to Cortes, with protestations that he would rather die by his side than desert his colours, and his behaviour on this occasion was an additional motive for sending him on this negociation.

On his approaching Zempoalla, Narvaez came with a grand retinue to meet him, supposing that he was come to join him; but had soon the mortification to find himself mistaken. However he used many arguments to detach him from Cortes; and to render him an eye-witness of his superior strength, commanded the whole army to be reviewed before him. The next day he invited him to dinner, together with such of his own officers as he placed the greatest confidence in, that they might assist in persuading him to join their party. In the beginning of the conversation he was treated with great civility and respect; but in the midst of their festivity, some sarcastic reflexions were thrown out against Cortes, and though Juan de Velasquez, to avoid injuring the business in which he was employed, dissembled his resentment, yet the abuse became so gross and indecent, that Velasquez, being unable to restrain his indignation, cried out, with some warmth, 'That if any man in that company, who

did not esteem Hernando Cortes and all his followers as loyal subjects to the king of Spain, would let him know his sentiments before fewer witnesses, he would undeceive him in any manner he pleased.' Narvaez was disconcerted with this declaration; but a young officer of the name and family of Velasquez replied, 'That no man was worthy of the name of Velasquez, who attempted to vindicate a traitor.' At this reproach Juan gave him the lie, and drew his sword, in order to punish him for his insolence, when the company interposed, but found it very difficult to prevent mischief. However, Velasquez was at length prevailed on to sheath his sword, when abruptly leaving the company, he immediately returned to Cortes, breathing defiance and revenge.

This incident occasioned such murmurs among the officers and soldiers, that Narvaez, in order to put a stop to their clamours, was obliged to send a person to Cortes, to apologise for what had happened to Juan de Velasquez, and to learn the substance of his commission, which he had not fully explained. For this purpose he sent the secretary Andres de Duero, who met Cortes on his march to an advantageous post, which he intended to occupy until the arrival of the Chinantlans. Duero and Cortes embraced each other like two intimate friends, who had met after a long separation; and all the officers received the stranger with joy and respect. But before they proceeded to business, Cortes made him a present of some valuable jewels. He was entertained with great magnificence and hospitality, and staid until the next day, to consult about measures for preventing a rupture, which, he was sensible, would be highly prejudicial to the

interest of Spain. Cortes on this occasion showed the greatest moderation, and even proposed to relinquish the Mexican conquest to his competitor, while he and his followers should engage in some other expedition. Andres de Duero being struck with this instance of his modesty and self-denial, proposed an interview with Narvaez, to which Cortes immediately agreeing, the secretary returned to Zempoalla, where he also obtained the consent of Narvaez. But after the time and place was appointed, where they were to meet with only ten friends on each side, Cortes received private advice from Duero, that Narvaez had resolved to lay an ambuscade for his life; which being confirmed by others, he wrote to his treacherous enemy, letting him know that he was acquainted with his designs, and reproaching him with his baseness. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he continued his march, and took his station within a league of Zempoalla, where his front was defended by a river, and his rear by the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz. Having posted proper sentinels, and detached a number of scouts, he quartered his people in some cottages, where they were sheltered from the sun, and allowed to take their repose.

Narvaez being informed of this disposition, drew up his army, caused war to be declared at the head of his troops, with the offer of a reward of 2,000 pieces of eight to any person who should bring him Cortes's head; and also set a price on the lives of Gonzalo de Sandoval and Juan Velasquez de Leon. He then marched to an open field, about a quarter of a league's distance, vainly hoping that Cortes would leave his advantageous situation, to engage an enemy who had three times as many men as him-

self. In the evening the weather suddenly grew dark and cloudy, and such a quantity of rain fell, that the soldiers were instantly wet to the skin, and their arms rendered useless; when they cursed the authors of the expedition, and with loud clamours insisted on returning to their quarters. With this request Narvaez was obliged to comply; and, not imagining that Cortes would pass the river in such a night, retreated in great disorder to Zempoalla, intending to take the field again early in the morning. He lodged his troops in the principal temple of the city, which was built on an eminence, that had an ascent of many ill-contrived steps, which rendered it very difficult of access, on the top of which he planted his artillery. His head-quarters he fixed in the middle tower, where he retired with some officers, and about a hundred soldiers, in whom he placed the greatest confidence: the rest of the army was distributed in the other tower; some horsemen were sent to patrole the neighbourhood of the town, and sentinels placed in the avenues.

Meanwhile Andres de Duero sent one of his men to apprize Cortes of their retreat, and the manner in which they were disposed, merely with the view of his passing the night without any apprehensions of being attacked in his quarters: but Cortes no sooner received this information, than he resolved to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Notwithstanding the continuance of the tempest, he assembled his people without delay, and having passed the river with the water above their middle, he made a short speech, mentioning the manner in which the enemy were quartered; their carelessness and security; the ease with which they might be attacked and routed in the

dark, before they could have time to be drawn up in their defence; and then expatiated on the insolence and treachery of Narvaez, and the justice of his own cause. His soldiers being thus fired with resentment, called aloud to be led to the enemy.

Cortes instantly formed his troops into three small battalions, the first of which was under the command of Gonzalo de Sandoval; the second was led by Christoval de Oled, and Cortes in person took the command of the rest. Gonzalo had orders to begin the attack by mounting the steps, and preventing all communication between the towers: Christoval was to assault the tower in which Narvaez lodged; while Cortes, with his men, resolved to support both attacks as occasion should require. Orders were given that the drums should beat, and the trumpets sound, as soon as the action began, with a view of increasing the terror and confusion of the enemy; and the most profound silence being recommended, they began their march at a very slow pace, to prevent their being fatigued before the action began, and to allow the enemy time to be lulled in sleep and security. But they had scarcely proceeded half a league, when their scouts returned with a sentinel whom they had surprised, though his companion found means to escape among the bushes. This accident occasioned a short consultation among the officers, who unanimously thought, that, if the soldier should discover them, he would take a circuit to the town to avoid danger; and, therefore, by hastening their march, they might probably reach Zempoalla as soon as he, and at least should have the advantage of attacking the enemy in the disorder of their first waking. They therefore left their horses, baggage, and other in-

cumbrances, by the side of a little brook near the road, and pushed forward with all possible haste. But notwithstanding this, the sentinel, winged by fear, had arrived a few minutes before them, crying aloud, 'The enemy is upon us;' but being instantly carried before Narvaez, he slighted his intelligence, and thought it impossible that Cortes should venture to march in such a dark tempestuous night, or presume to attack him with such a handful of men.

A little after midnight Cortes reached Zempoalla without being discovered by the enemy's cavalry, and not only entered the town, but came in sight of the temple, without finding any guards, or being challenged by one sentinel. This happened at the very instant when the soldier was telling Narvaez that Cortes was marching towards the place with his whole army: but though he was disbelieved by that obstinate commander, his soldiers had taken to their arms, and were in some degree prepared for their defence. Cortes, soon perceiving that he was discovered, and had no time to lose, began the attack, by ordering Gonzalo de Sandoval to mount the steps, when those who were upon guard with the artillery, fired two or three pieces, and their report was instantly succeeded with the noise of the drums, trumpets, and the confused cries of the soldiers, who flew to the defence of the steps. The dispute soon came to the pike and the sword, and Sandoval was hard pressed in his attempt to force his way, from the disadvantage of the ground, and the superiority of numbers; but de Oled soon came to his relief, and Cortes quitting the rear threw himself sword in hand into the hottest of the engagement, with such impetuosity, that nothing could withstand him, so that in a few minutes the

enemy gave way, and soon retreated in great disorder, after having abandoned their artillery; some flying to their quarters, while others repaired to the gate of the principal tower, where the combat was renewed, and for some time continued with great obstinacy.

Narvaez having put on his armour, exerted his utmost endeavours to rally his scattered troops, and with great resolution rushed into the midst of the battle; but his eye being thrust out with a pike, he fell, crying, 'I am a dead man.' This completed the confusion of his soldiers, some of whom abandoned him, while others stood as if they had been thunderstruck, and others again fought with such disorder, that they were easily routed, and their general taken prisoner. An end was now put to the dispute, for the enemy shut themselves up in the towers, while the followers of Cortes, having nobody to oppose them, proclaimed their victory with loud acclamations, which served to heighten the aprehensions of the vanquished, whose terror was considerably augmented by the sight of numerous lights in the country, which though produced from a kind of glow-worms, they ridiculously imagined were an army of arquebusiers with lighted matches; and their disordered imagination made them suppose that these were the auxiliaries of Cortes, marching to his assistance.

Cortes at length putting a stop to the shouts of the people, caused the artillery to be turned against the towers, and proclaimed a general pardon for those who would surrender, with advantageous conditions to such as would enter into his service, and free liberty to those who were desirous of returning to Cuba. This step, being taken in the

first tumult of their fear, was attended with great success; for these terms were no sooner proposed at the three towers, than both officers and soldiers came in whole companies to surrender; when Cortes received them with the greatest kindness, though he caused them to be divided, and put under a proper guard, till the light should give him an opportunity of discovering who they were. He then went to visit Narvaez, who having been committed to the care of Sandoval, had his wound already dressed, and seeing him enter the apartment, cried, 'Thank God, captain Cortes, for your success in making me your prisoner.' 'Thanks be to God for all things, friend Narvaez,' he returned; 'but, vanity apart, I look upon this victory, and your imprisonment, among the least considerable actions that have been performed in this country.'

Cortes being now informed that one of the towers, commanded by Salvatierra and Diego Velasquez the younger, refused to surrender, he ordered two pieces of artillery to be planted against it; but the defendants called for quarter at the very first discharge, when Juan Velasquez de Leon entered with a small body, and seized Diego and Salvatierra, who were Cortes's inveterate enemies. Thus the victory was obtained with the loss of four men, though the conquered had a captain, an ensign, and fifteen private men, killed on the spot.

At day-break the 2000 Chinantlans arrived, when Cortes was glad of letting his prisoners see, that he was not destitute of allies; while the vanquished were filled with shame, perceiving the small number of men by whom they had been defeated, and execrated the carelessness and insolence of Narvaez. Cortes had many friends among them, who

desiring to be enlisted in his army, their example was soon followed by all the other prisoners, and not a single man expressed the least inclination to return to Cuba.

Thus Cortes, by his conduct and bravery, found himself in a few hours at the head of above 1000 Spaniards; the only enemies he had to fear, were safe in his custody; he had a fleet of eleven ships and seven brigantines at his disposal; and he had the pleasure of seeing this last effort of Diego de Velasquez entirely frustrated. Narvaez's cavalry were not engaged in this action, but made their escape into the country, and for some time appeared determined to stand on their defence, but were soon induced to join the banners of Cortes. The ships were afterwards dismantled, the sails, tackling and rudders brought ashore, and laid up in Vera Cruz; the sailors sent to join Cortes at Zempoalla, and the army placed in quarters for refreshment.

CHAP. VIII.

Cortes returns to Mexico, to the assistance of Alverado, against whom the Mexicans had taken up arms. His troops are several times attacked, and his offers of peace rejected. Montezuma haranguing the Mexicans, in order to persuade them to lay down their arms, is mortally wounded, and dies, conjuring Cortes to revenge his fall.

WHILE Cortes continued at Zempoalla, he dismissed the Chinantlans with presents, and was visited by the caciques and inhabitants of the adjacent country and villages, who came to congratulate him upon his success. But, notwithstanding

his good fortune, he could not be easy when he reflected on Alverado's situation, since he knew him to be encompassed with enemies, and at the mercy of a prince, who might be persuaded to sacrifice him and his few troops for the advantage of the empire. He therefore resolved to return to Mexico; and that neither Montezuma nor his people might be offended at his returning with such a numerous body, he proposed to divide his army, and employ the greatest part of it in other conquests.

While Cortes was taking these measures, a letter from Alverado obliged him to alter his scheme. By this he was informed, that in spite of Montezuma, who had never once attempted to leave the quarters, the Mexicans had taken up arms, and repeated their attacks with such resolution, that unless he and his men were immediately succoured, they must all inevitably perish. The soldier who brought this letter was accompanied by an ambassador from Montezuma, who pressed Cortes to return as soon as possible; and assured him, that, though his own life should be at stake, he would never abandon Alverado.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes and his officers unanimously agreed, that no time was to be lost. Roderigo Rangel, a person of approved fidelity, was immediately appointed deputy-governor of Vera Cruz; and a garrison was left at Zempoalla, after which the army amounted to 1,000 foot and 100 horse. Cortes having sent an answer to Montezuma, and another to Alverado, with an account of his victory, and assurances of his coming to their assistance, began his march; the army taking different routes, in order to be the more easily supplied with provisions. They rendezvoused

near Tlascala, at which city they were received with great joy and affection. That republic stimulated him against the Mexicans, and offered to assemble all their troops for his service. He, however, declined the offer, and contented himself with taking a body of 2000 men.

Cortes passed the causeway without the least opposition, notwithstanding his perceiving many marks of the fury of the Mexicans; for his two brigantines were staved to pieces, and half burnt. On his entering Mexico, the suburbs were abandoned; the bridges, by which the streets had a communication with each other, were broken down, and a profound silence reigned over the city. These suspicious symptoms made Cortes slacken the march of the infantry, and order the cavalry to advance, for the purpose of reconnoitering: but the Spaniards, who had been left in the city, soon discovering the army, raised a great shout, and removed his apprehensions. Pedro de Alverado, with his people, received them at the gate of his quarters, in a transport of joy, and Montezuma himself went to the outward court, to meet Cortes, whom he affectionately embraced.

Cortes having taken proper measures for the security of the troops, retired with Alverado, to inquire into the cause of the hostility of the Mexicans, which had put him into such danger. This officer then informed him, that, soon after his departure, the nobles had behaved with less respect than usual. That from the information of a trusty spy he learned, that they held frequent assemblies in private; and that a conspiracy was concerted against the Spaniards, in which it was determined to assemble the inhabitants, under the pretence of ce-

lebrating annual dances, called Mitates, when the nobles were to harangue the populace, and immediately proceed to the Spanish quarters, in order to extirpate the insolent strangers, who kept their emperor prisoner, and treated their gods with contempt.

On the morning preceding the day appointed, some of the chief persons engaged in this conspiracy, came to obtain the permission of Alverado to celebrate their festival, which he granted. But Alverado being that very night informed, that they were very busy in concealing considerable quantities of arms in houses near the temples, resolved to anticipate the execution of their scheme, by attacking them before they should have time either to take arms, or raise the populace. This ill-judged scheme he put in execution. He left the fort with his fifty men, under the pretence of seeing the diversion, and perceiving the Mexicans intoxicated with liquor, attacked and dispersed them without opposition, many of them being killed and wounded. After the Spaniards had stripped the bodies of the murdered Mexicans of their valuable ornaments, Alverado retired, without even acquainting the inhabitants with his motives for committing this detestable act. The natives, who naturally attributed it to avarice, were incensed at seeing their chiefs slaughtered and pillaged before their eyes; they ran to arms, and raised a very formidable insurrection. Previous to the arrival of Cortes, they had several times attacked the Spanish quarters; and having killed three or four Spaniards, their courage rose so high, that instead of dreading the resentment of Cortes, and his troops, which were so greatly increased, they retired to another part

of the town, leaving the entrance open; in order that, by giving the Spaniards an opportunity of being united, they might surround and destroy them at once.

Cortes censured Alverado very severely, for his rashness in leaving the quarters, when the city was in such a commotion; he also blamed him for concealing from Montezuma the first intelligence he had received; and for retiring without having informed the populace of the cause of such a violent assault. These reprehensions made Alverado so sensible of his indiscretion, that he desired to be imprisoned, in order to facilitate the reduction of the enraged multitude.

The Mexicans made no attempt that night, but the some mysterious silence prevailing the next morning, Cortes ordered Diego de Ordaz to march through the principal streets, at the head of 400 Spanish and Tlascalan soldiers; in order, if possible, to penetrate into their designs. But Diego had not proceeded far, when he observed a body of armed men, which had been detached on purpose to draw him from his quarters. He accordingly advanced a considerable way, in order to take some prisoners; but was all at once opposed by an innumerable multitude, who ran boldly up to his front, while another army, which had been concealed in the cross streets, attacked him in the rear: at the same time all the terraces and windows, on each side, were crowded with armed men, who showered upon them an infinite number of arrows, darts and stones. Diego, perceiving his retreat cut off, and his communication intercepted with Cortes, ordered his rear to face about, and part of his men to exert themselves with their

swords and pikes below, while his fire-arms were used against those above. The heat of the engagement was, however, but of short continuance; for, notwithstanding the fury with which the Mexicans advanced, their attacks were made in so tumultuous a manner, that they were soon thrown into confusion, and retired to a distance, where they could neither offend nor be offended; and the windows and terraces being at the same time cleared by the fire-arms, Diego effected his retreat. In this engagement he left seven soldiers dead upon the spot, and both himself and the greatest part of his men were wounded.

This event rendered Cortes but too sensible, that there was no room for negociation. He therefore resolved to sally out with the greatest part of his forces, in order to oblige them to sue for an accommodation. The Mexicans, however, followed Diego with inconceivable fury, and continued their attacks, until they were driven back by the fire of the artillery from the Spanish quarters, which made dreadful havock among them. Having got out of the reach of the guns they halted, and the streets were soon filled with armed men, who again advanced to the assault with prodigious impetuosity. Their rear was composed of archers, who were designed to clear the walls, that the rest of the army might approach; and such showers of arrows were discharged, that the Spaniards were soon obliged to employ a number of hands to remove them. While the archers were thus engaged, the rest, notwithstanding the horrible carnage made among them by the cannon and small arms, advanced to the very gates, which they endeavoured to cut in pieces: some leaped upon the shoulders of their

companions, and others made ladders of their pikes and lances, in order to scale the walls. One set of men were no sooner wounded and fell, than their place was supplied by others, who, as if they had been strangers to fear and compassion, trampled upon the bodies of their friends, and fought like wild beasts made doubly furious by famine and revenge. They were, however, at last, repulsed; but they only retired for cover to the cross streets, where they staid till the approach of night, and then raised another terrible alarm, by beginning a very different kind of fight; for, by shooting fire-arrows into the quarters, they produced a dreadful conflagration in several parts of the building, which forced the Spaniards to break down walls, to prevent the communication of the flames, and then to labour the greatest part of the night in repairing the breaches they had made.

The next morning the enemy appeared at a distance, and, though afraid of advancing within cannon-shot, appeared to challenge the Spaniards to come out to battle. Cortes, who had resolved to make a sally, took this opportunity to inflame the minds of his soldiers with a short speech; and, finding them impatient of delay, he divided his whole force into three battalions, two of which were directed to clear the cross streets, while he himself took the large street, where the greatest body of the enemy was posted. The Mexicans stood the first charge without giving ground, and even fought hand to hand with their clubs and two-handed swords, which they wielded with incredible fury; nor could the fire-arms put a stop to the showers of stones and javelins, that were thrown from the windows and balconies, which was only

effected by setting fire to the houses: but, being compelled to give way, as they retreated they broke down the bridges of the streets, which obliged the Spaniards to fill up the canals, before they could prosecute the victory. While Cortes was thus advancing, the two battalions charged the multitude that had possession of the streets on the sides, and drove the enemy before them, till they entered a large square, where the three divisions joined, when the Mexicans betook themselves to flight, with as much precipitation as they had before made their attack.

Cortes did not think proper to allow his men to engage in the pursuit, but having lost ten or twelve soldiers in the action, returned to his quarters. The loss of the enemy was so great, that the dead bodies lay in heaps, and the canals of the city were tinged with blood. Cortes allotted three days for the refreshment of his troops, during which he renewed his overtures of peace, by means of the Mexicans who were in attendance on Montezuma, but at the same time continued to observe the strictest vigilance and precaution.

The Mexicans, exasperated by their losses, rejected these peaceful proposals, and, being under the guidance of their principal chiefs, waited the assault of the Spaniards with profound silence. The latter no sooner issued from their quarters, than they were surprised with the hoarse and disagreeable sound of the sea-shells and drums, and the shouts of an innumerable multitude, which advanced with unusual regularity, and amazing resolution, giving and receiving the first charges without being disordered. When forced to give way, they retired leisurely, without turning their backs,

and renewed the fight at every canal, or barricado, with such obstinacy, that they were not to be dislodged without the artillery. They discharged their arrows and lances in a regular manner. Some swam about the canals, searching for opportunities to wound the Spaniards with long pikes; while others cast from the windows, balconies and terraces, large stones and all kinds of missile weapons. In short, the battle was fought with such method and alacrity, as plainly proved that it was conducted by a skilful general.

The engagement continued the greatest part of the day, during which a great number of Mexicans lost their lives, and the city was much damaged by the burning of the houses. The Spaniards and their confederates were repulsed with such bravery, that they were obliged to dispute the ground by inches; and night drawing on before Cortes had made much progress, he found it would be impossible for him to maintain the posts he had gained, and therefore retired to his quarters with the loss of forty men, who were chiefly Tlascalans, and with fifty Spaniards much wounded, he himself having received a shot with an arrow in his left hand. He now began seriously to reflect, that notwithstanding all the advantages he obtained over the Mexicans, his numbers in a series of such victories would be greatly diminished, and that, in case of a general revolt against Montezuma, they might easily starve him in his quarters; nor was the emperor himself under less uneasiness. From the highest turret of the palace he had observed the battle, and could easily distinguish the cacique of Iztapalapa, and other nobles, who might aspire to the empire. He dreaded the loss of his crown, and being sensible

that he could never restore his subjects to obedience while the Spaniards remained in Mexico, he sent for Cortes the next morning, told him his sentiments, and entreated him to leave the city, that he might return to his own palace, resume the reins of government, and quell the seditions of his people.

Cortes readily consented to this proposal, and resolved to retire for the present, that he might have leisure to concert a new plan, and be enabled to execute it with a better prospect of success: but his conference with the emperor was interrupted, by his being told that the enemy was advancing with great fury to make a general attack upon the quarters. They rushed on with prodigious impetuosity, and in spite of the havoc made among them by the artillery and small-arms, behaved with such bravery, that some of them got over the walls, which obliged Cortes to form a body of reserve in the principal court, whence he occasionally sent detachments to support such as were hard pressed or fatigued with action.

While the assault was thus carrying on with amazing vigour, Montezuma proposed to show himself to the people from the wall, in order to command the populace to retire, and order the nobles to come unarmed into his presence, that he might take proper measures to redress their grievances. This proposal being approved by Cortes, the emperor immediately adorned himself with the ensigns of royalty, the crown, mantle and jewels worn on the most solemn occasions, and then mounted the terrace with the principal Mexicans, who continued in his service, one of whom advancing to the rails, called, with a loud voice, that the great Montezuma had condescended to come forth, and redress their

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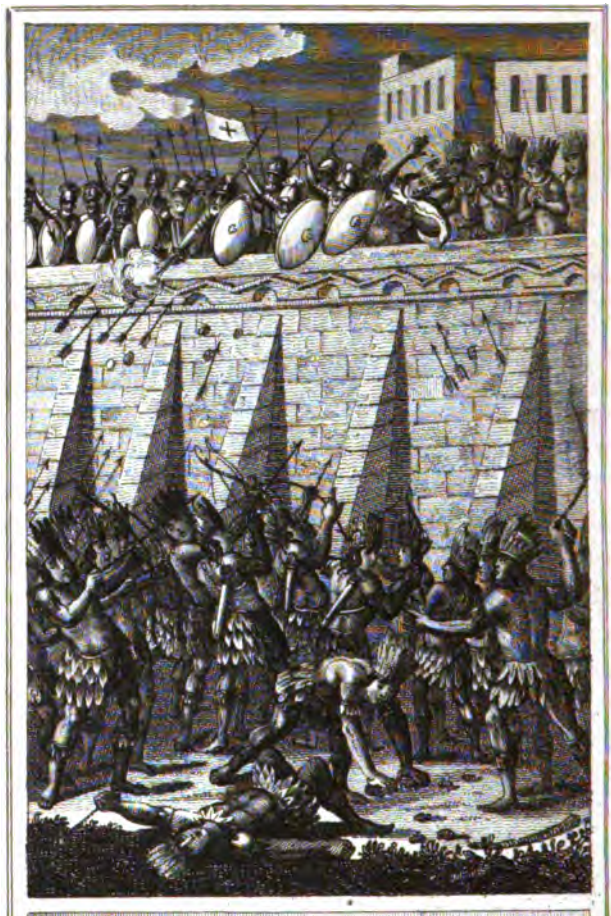

The Death of Montezuma.

G. Shea, sculp.

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grievances. His name was no sooner mentioned, than the outcries of the people ceased, and they stood silent and motionless, as if awed by something supernatural; and, when he appeared, the whole multitude humbled themselves to the earth. He looked round him with a majestic air, and distinguishing the nobles in the crowd, desired them severally, by name, to approach; thanked them for the zeal and affection they had shown in his service, and represented to the people, that they were actuated by a principle of mistaken loyalty; that his residing among the Spaniards was not the effect of compulsion; that he was resolved to dismiss them from his court, and, therefore, desired his subjects to lay down their arms.

This condescension made such an impression on the hearers, who had been used to obey him with fear and trembling, that many wept to see the emperor so humbled, and the rest hung down their heads, and stood in silence and suspence. But these favourable dispositions were soon changed. Some of the emissaries belonging to the cacique, who hoped to succeed Montezuma, upbraiding that prince with being a coward, a prisoner and a slave, raised a clamour among the people, and instantly turned their compassion into such a rage, that they cursed him, and uttered the most opprobrious invectives. The motions he made with his hand and head were now disregarded; and his efforts to speak rendered ineffectual, by their repeated shouts, until at length they discharged a shower of arrows at him. Two soldiers being near, endeavoured to cover him with their bucklers; but, in spite of all their care, he was wounded in several places, and received a terrible blow with a stone on one of his temples,

which brought him to the ground. Cortes having caused him to be carried to his apartment, resolved to be revenged on the authors of this misfortune. But he then could find no enemy on whom he could wreak his revenge; for the emperor no sooner fell, than the Mexicans, struck with horror and consternation, instantly fled.

Montezuma had scarcely recovered his senses, than he became frantic with rage; imprecated the most dreadful curses upon his rebellious subjects, and refused to listen to the remonstrances and consolations of Cortes, who, in vain, endeavoured to comfort him. He tore the bandages and plaisters from his wounds, and even endeavoured to put an end to his life, which made it necessary to restrain him by force, and then he absolutely refused to take any manner of sustenance. The wound in his head was very dangerous, and the agitation of his mind soon rendered it mortal. Cortes joined with father Bartholomew de Olmedo in persuading him to renounce his idolatry; but all their arguments were to no purpose, and he expired, after having conjured the general to revenge his death.

The unhappy fate of Montezuma filled Cortes with great concern. He had an affection for that prince, and all his hopes had centered in his voluntary submission to the king of Spain. He was now obliged to form a new plan, and to give up all the advantages he enjoyed by his influence at the court of Mexico. The first step he took was, appointing six of Montezuma's principal attendants, some of whom were priests, to carry out his body to the rebels, with orders to tell the chiefs who headed them, that he had sent them the corpse of their late sovereign, whom they themselves had murdered;

and who, before his death, had earnestly conjured him to revenge his wrongs, and chastise them for their abominable rebellion. But as he imagined the insurrection was not approved by the nobles, he once more proposed peace, and was ready to agree to any reasonable conditions; but should they neglect his proposal, he would treat them as the worst of rebels; and as his respect for Montezuma could no longer moderate his resentment, he would lay waste their city with fire and sword.

The bearers of the corpse were met at a small distance from the quarters by a body of the inhabitants, who threw down their arms, and followed their deceased sovereign with the most profound reverence and respect. The city was instantly filled with lamentations; and though another emperor was already elected, they testified their repentance by the strongest expressions of sorrow, repeating the name of Montezuma, and running about the streets in clamorous tumults till the next morning, when they conveyed the body to the mountain of Chapultepeque, where it was interred with great solemnity.

Thus fell Montezuma, the most powerful emperor that had ever filled the Mexican throne. He reigned seventeen years, was the eleventh in the number of emperors, and the second of that name. He left four sons and three daughters: two of the former, who lived with their father in his confinement, were afterwards killed by the Mexicans in Cortes's retreat. The daughters embraced the Christian religion, and were married to Spaniards; but the most distinguished of his descendants was one of his sons, who at his baptism took the name of Don Pedro de Montezuma, and received many

favours from his most catholic majesty, who gave him considerable possessions in New Spain, with the title of count of Montezuma, which his posterity still enjoy.

CHAP. IX.

The war vigorously carried on against Cortes, who escapes the most imminent dangers, and every where defeats the Indians. He retires from Mexico, with his army, by night, but is assaulted in his retreat, and loses many men; however, he at length obtains a great victory over the united forces of Mexico, by seizing the royal standard.

THE Mexicans made no attempt upon the Spanish quarters while the emperor remained ill of his wounds; which Cortes attributed to their being filled with horror at the thoughts of the crime they had committed; but it was really owing to the nobility being wholly employed in the inauguration of Quilavaca, cacique of Iztapalata, whom they raised to the throne.

The Mexicans, instead of listening to the proposal made by Montezuma's servants, renewed the war with greater vigour than ever; and on the morning that succeeded the late emperor's funeral, all the streets were, by break of day, filled with armed men. They had also put a strong garrison in the towers of the temple, which commanded part of the Spanish quarters. This important post, which was defended by 500 chosen men of the nobility, Cortes resolved at all events to carry. He therefore drew the greatest part of his strength out of the quarters, and having formed some battalions, sufficient to cut off all communication between the

towers and the Indians in the streets, he ordered captain Escobar, with a considerable detachment, to attack the temple, which was of difficult access. That officer marched to the lower porch without opposition; but the defendants from the upper porch suddenly discharged such a shower of lances, arrows, large stones, and half-burned beams of timber, that the assailants were thrown into disorder, and obliged to retreat in confusion, after having returned three times to the attack.

Cortes, at the head of a troop of horse, was busily employed in supporting those who most needed his assistance; but seeing Escobar repulsed, he instantly quitted his horse, caused a shield to be fastened to his arm, on account of the wound in his hand, then flying to his relief, advanced to the stairs with such intrepidity as inspired his followers with an ambition to imitate his example. In an instant the action was renewed with surprising obstinacy. The brave defenders fought hand to hand, like men resolved rather to die than to surrender. The very priests fell fighting valiantly, exhorting the people to show their courage in defence of their gods; and they suffered themselves to be cut in pieces to a man, before the Spaniards could get possession of the post. In the heat of this engagement, two Mexicans, who had devoted their lives to the service of their country, seeing Cortes upon a tower, threw down their arms, ran up to him, and endeavoured to throw him over the rails; but, after struggling with him for some time, he had the good fortune to disengage himself; upon which, they threw themselves headlong from the tower, and their brains were dashed out against the pavement.

Cortes then seized a considerable quantity of provisions, which he found in the temple, and ordered it to be conveyed to his quarters; after which he commanded the Tlascalans to set fire to several houses, that the artillery might command the whole edifice. He then took a view of the engagement below, and perceiving the Spaniards closely pressed in the principal street, which they defended with great difficulty, he immediately mounted his horse, and hastened to their assistance, ordering Escobar to follow with his men, with all possible expedition. Instantly he attacked the multitude at the head of his cavalry, overthrowing all who opposed him; but, advancing too far beyond the troops, his retreat was cut off: then turning into another street, where he hoped to meet with less resistance, he fell in among a body of Mexicans, who had taken Andres de Duero prisoner, and were going to sacrifice him to their gods. Cortes immediately attacked them, and that so furiously, that the whole party was thrown into confusion; Duero recovered his horse and lance, and the two friends, by an united effort, pierced through the midst of their enemies. Shortly after the Mexicans precipitately retreated; and the Spanish troops returned to their quarters, after having made dreadful havock, and burned a considerable part of the city.

The next day the enemy desired a parley, which Cortes willingly granted: several of the nobles then approached the walls, and, in the name of the new emperor, proposed, that the Spaniards should instantly march to the sea-side, and leave the country, upon which condition they promised to put an end to all hostilities: they further observed, that, should these proposals be rejected, the strangers

must inevitably perish; for, convinced as they were by experience, that the Spaniards were mortal, they were resolved to continue their attacks; and, that though the death of each one should cost them 20,000 lives, they would have a number left sufficient to rejoice at their success.

To this Cortes replied, that the Spaniards did not pretend to be immortal, though they were so superior to the Mexicans, that with his handful of men he would destroy the whole empire; but being moved by the calamities, they through their own obstinacy had suffered, he was resolved to depart; and that he only waited until the necessary preparations were made for his march, and other articles agreed upon for the reciprocal advantage of both parties. The nobles seemed pleased with this answer, though the overtures they had made were intended to answer a very different purpose. It had been agreed by the new emperor and his council, that instead of exposing themselves to such terrible slaughter, as the people had already suffered from the artillery and fire-arms, they should distress the Spaniards by famine, and amuse them with negociations until they should be weakened and dispirited by hunger, when they might fall upon them to great advantage. They recollected that Montezuma's three sons, and other persons of distinction, were prisoners in the Spanish quarters; but willingly devoted them as sacrifices to the good of their country, except their chief priest, whom they resolved, if possible, to deliver.

The deputies therefore returned the same evening with a proposal, that some of the Mexican prisoners should be sent with instructions to the emperor; artfully hinting, that the most proper

person would be a certain ancient priest, who being an intelligent man, would be able to remove whatever difficulties might be started. Cortes readily assented to the proposal, and made the priest acquainted with his demands in relation to the necessaries he should want in his march, resolving, if he should return, to explain himself with respect to their laying down their arms and delivering hostages. But they had not the least intention to send him back, or to come to an amicable agreement; which was very evident from the sentinels discovering, that they were employed in making trenches to defend the passage of the canals, in breaking down the bridges of the principal causeway, and cutting off all communication with the road leading to Tlascala. Cortes was greatly alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately ordered a portable bridge to be made, strong enough to bear the weight of the artillery, and so light as to be carried by forty soldiers.

Men were immediately employed in making this bridge, and, at the same time, Cortes assembled his captains, in order to consult whether they should retreat by day or by night; for he was resolved to retire to Tlascala, and there to take measures for laying siege to the city of Mexico. The majority of the officers proposed a retreat by night, on account of the superstition of the Mexicans, which made it unusual for them to engage an enemy after sunset, and from the difficulty of attacking them in the canoes in the dark. This was, however, warmly opposed by Cortes and several others; but the question being put to the vote, the majority declared for the first proposal, to which Cortes assented, and it was resolved to give the enemy as little time

as possible to form obstructions, by beginning their march that very night. The carpenters had no sooner finished the bridge, which was to be moved from one opening in the causeway to another, than Cortes sent a Mexican in order to amuse the enemy with farther proposals of peace, while he made the proper dispositions for his retreat. His van-guard consisted of two hundred Spanish soldiers, with the choicest of the Tlascalans, and twenty horsemen; the rear-guard consisted of a still larger number of horse and foot; and the prisoners, artillery and baggage, with the main body of the army, were to be in the centre. This order being fixed, he caused the treasure to be brought into his apartment, and taking one-fifth for the king, in what was most portable, he delivered it to the commissary, with some wounded horses for the carriage; the remainder, which amounted to upwards of 700,000 pieces of eight, he proposed to leave as a dangerous incumbrance; but finding the soldiers unwilling to lose their share, he gave them leave to take what they could conveniently carry. In consequence of which, some of the most avaricious, who were among those that came with Narvaez, loaded themselves so heavily, that they staggered under their burdens.

Cortes having taken these previous steps, encouraged the soldiers by a short speech, and about midnight they began their march with great silence and circumspection, being favoured by the wetness of the weather, and the darkness of the night. The bridge, which was carried in the front, was laid over the first canal before they met with the least opposition; but the weight of the artillery and horse jammed it so fast, that they found it imprac-

ticable to remove it; and, indeed, they had not time to use much pains about it; for before the army had passed the first breach of the causeway, they were suddenly assailed on all sides. The Mexicans having observed the motions of the Spaniards, had assembled their troops and canoes with such expedition and silence, that the lake was covered on each side of the causeway. The attack began with great regularity; and had they continued to preserve the same good order during the engagement, Cortes and his whole army must have perished; but they soon returned to their usual way of charging in confusion, by which means many of the canoes were dashed to pieces against each other, and the Spaniards made a dreadful slaughter. They were attacked in front by a vast number, who being impatient until they came to action, had thrown themselves into the lake, and clambered up the causeway in order to dispute the passage; but they were so crowded, that they had scarcely room to make use of their weapons; and the slaughter was so great, according to some authors, as to supply a sufficient number of bodies to form a passage for the Spaniards in the lake: but others alledge, that the enemy left the beam of the second bridge, on which the soldiers passed over in files, leading their horses through the water by the bridles.

Cortes, on his reaching the shore, ordered the men to be formed as fast as they arrived, and then returning to the causeway, entered into the engagement, and animated the men by his presence and example. He caused each side of the causeway to be lined with soldiers, who were to repel the enemy while the rest marched between them in the centre;

and, to facilitate the march, he ordered the artillery to be thrown into the water: but notwithstanding all his vigilance, part of the rear-guard was cut in pieces; the bridge being destroyed by the Mexicans in the canoes before these unhappy men could pass it; and these consisted chiefly of those who had so overloaded themselves with treasure, that they were incapable of exerting themselves in their own defence.

The army having passed over the lake by break of day, halted near Tabuca, to give time to those who had escaped from the battle to join their friends; a precaution which saved the lives of several Spaniards and Tlascalans, who had swam ashore, and concealed themselves in some fields of maize till the morning. These brought intelligence that the last division of the rear-guard was entirely cut off; and the troops being reviewed, their loss was found to amount to about 200 Spaniards, above 1000 Tlascalans, and 46 horses, with all the Mexican prisoners, who, in the darkness and confusion of the night, were treated as enemies by their own countrymen. The Spaniards were much dejected at finding how greatly their number was diminished, at the loss of their artillery, and at the apprehension of being every moment again assaulted, while they were oppressed with fatigue. Their affliction was increased by the loss of some excellent officers, among whom was Juan Velasquez de Leon, who brought up the rear, and was overpowered by numbers.

Had the Spaniards been now attacked, before they had time to refresh themselves, and recover their spirits after the fatigue of the battle, they would, in all probability, have been easily destroyed;

but an event, which they considered as extremely unfortunate, was their preservation. It has already been observed, that all the Mexican prisoners were killed in the engagement; and, in the morning, when the enemy went to strip the dead, they found three of Montezuma's sons, whom they had killed in the action. At this spectacle they were amazed and stupified, the troops were seized with consternation, and the news of this event soon reached the new emperor, who ordered the bodies of these unfortunate princes to be conveyed to the burying-place of their ancestors: the attendance of the inhabitants at their obsequies, prevented a renewal of the engagement, and afforded the Spaniards a respite that was indispensibly necessary to recover from their fatigue.

Meanwhile Cortes marched with great caution towards Tlascala, suspecting that the enemy's delay proceeded from some design which had been formed against him; and, indeed, the Spaniards had not proceeded far before they perceived several companies of armed men following them at a distance. These were some of the inhabitants of several cities, whom the Mexicans had ordered to observe the motions of the Spaniards, and retard their march, until they had discharged their last duty to the sons of Montezuma. At length the whole body of the Mexicans appeared, and joining the others, attacked the army with great impetuosity. Cortes placed his fire-arms and cross-bows in the front, and then ordered the horse to advance and charge the Indians, which they did with great success; but their enemies continually increasing, the Spaniards were fatigued with killing them, and began to despair of their ever being able to rout such a

prodigious multitude, when Cortes, perceiving an edifice with turrets, on the top of an eminence near the field of battle, resolved to gain that post, which he effected, though with great difficulty. This building was a temple, that had a spacious court, encompassed by a wall and several towers, and was easily defended. The Spaniards here found shelter from the danger to which they had been exposed, and, on account of this signal relief, afterwards erected a hermitage on the spot, which is still known by the name of Nuestra Sennora de Los Remedios, or, Our Lady of Relief.

The Mexicans approached near the walls, but after discharging a great number of arrows, retired towards Mexico. The Spaniards, from the tops of the towers, perceived that they halted in the plain, where they divided into several bodies. Cortes having posted his guards and sentinels, ordered the arrows, that lay in heaps about the place, to be burned; and the men to be refreshed with the provisions that were found in the temple, and what the Indians had preserved: the wounded men were dressed, the linen horse-cloths serving for lint and bandages. These necessary duties being performed, Cortes called a council of his officers, and proposed, as this post could not be maintained for want of provisions, and as they could not hope to make their retreat, while surrounded by such a multitude of the enemy, that they should seize this opportunity of continuing their march during the night, in order that they might be two or three leagues from the Mexicans the next morning. This proposal being unanimously assented to, after resting a few hours they retired from the temple, and left the fires burning,

in order to deceive the enemy. The van-guard, which was provided with guides, proceeded about half a league without interruption; but on their entering some hilly grounds, several ambuscades were discovered, formed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns. These slight skirmishes did not obstruct the march of the Spaniards, who arrived at a village, advantageously situated, which was deserted by its inhabitants; and there they halted two days, till the wounded were again able to travel. They now marched two days through a rocky and barren country, at a distance from the great road, which they purposely avoided, perpetually exposed to the extremes of hunger and thirst, which they endeavoured to assuage by means of the herbs and roots they discovered; and were at last compelled to eat one of their horses, who died of the wounds he had received. In the last of these marches they reached a village, where the inhabitants provided every thing for their entertainment, with an air of frankness and hospitality; which was only an ill-judged stratagem, designed to lull the Spaniards into a careless security.

Early the next morning, the army ascended a mountain, on the other side of which was the valley of Otumba, when Marina observed, that the Indians, who still followed at a distance, shouted, and frequently exclaimed, "Proceed, tyrants, you will soon arrive at the place where you will all perish." Cortes took all possible precaution to prevent being surprised; but, on reaching the top of the mountain, he found the passage of the troops effectually obstructed, by an immense multitude of armed men, who covered the extensive plain of Otumba. These were the Indians they encoun-

tured at the first temple, reinforced by vast numbers of the inhabitants of Mexico, with the principal nobles at their head, who had separated into several bodies, and marched so expeditiously, that they had got the start of the Spaniards, and were united in this spacious plain, where there was no danger of their being embarrassed for want of room. The front of the army, which appeared, from the diversity of the colours and standards, to be of different nations, extended along the whole breadth of the valley, but the eye could not reach the extremity of the rear. In the centre appeared the captain-general, borne in a sumptuous chariot, on men's shoulders, that he might the better judge of emergencies, and see his orders punctually obeyed. Near him was the royal standard of Mexico, which was a net of massy gold, fastened to a pike crowned with a plume of variegated feathers, and this standard was never brought into the field but upon the most extraordinary occasions. Indeed, this vast army, with the motions of their different weapons, and their feathers floating in the wind, formed an appearance that was at once beautiful and tremendous.

Cortes, having taken a view of this dreadful army, turned with alacrity to his soldiers, and told them that they must either conquer or die; but was immediately interrupted by his men, who called out, that he should give the word and lead them to battle. He was unwilling to damp their ardour, and having ranged them in order, immediately advanced. The soldiers gave no stroke either with their lances or swords, but what was fatal. The horse broke and trampled under foot those that endeavoured to flank or inclose the army, and the

Tlascalans rushed into the thickest part of the enemy. In the first effort the Spaniards gained ground; but the Mexicans fought with great obstinacy, and no sooner was one corps cut in pieces, than it was succeeded by another. The battle being continually renewed by fresh supplies of men, the Spaniards must at last have been worn out with incessant labour and fatigue, had not Cortes recollected to have heard among the Mexicans, that the whole success of the battle depended upon the royal standard, the losing of which decided the fortune of the day; he instantly resolved to make an extraordinary effort to obtain it, and commanded Sandoval, Alverado, de Olid and Davila, to follow and secure his rear, while he, with his troop of horse, charged that part which appeared weakest and nearest the centre. This troop trod down whole battalions, and soon cut their way to the place where the imperial standard was defended by a guard composed of the nobles; when Cortes, spurring his horse through the midst of them, wounded the captain-general, and threw him from his chariot with a stroke of his lance; and Juan de Salamanca, a private gentleman, leaped from his horse, dispatched the general, and seizing the standard, gave it into the hands of Cortes.

The Mexicans no sooner beheld the imperial standard in the power of the Spaniards, than they struck all the rest of their colours, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight; while the victorious Spaniards made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, 20,000 Indians being said to be killed in the battle and pursuit. On the side of the Spaniards some were wounded, of which number two or three died at Tlascala, and Cortes himself received a

The Royal Standard of Mexico taken by the Spaniards.

J. Shaw, sculp.

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violent blow on the head with a stone, which battered his head-piece, and made a small fracture in his skull. The spoils which Cortes divided among the soldiers were very considerable; for the Mexicans, depending on their number, which amounted to 200,000, came, as to a certain triumph, adorned with their best jewels.

CHAP. X.

Cortes marches to the city of Tlascala, where the Spaniards meet with a joyful reception. The Tlascalans receive an embassy from the new emperor of Mexico, to excite them to take arms against the Spaniards, and Xicotencal privately espouses their cause, but is discovered. Cortes defeats the Tepeacans. Another Mexican army attacks the Spaniards, and is entirely routed.

THE Spaniards now pursued their march, but not without some suspicion of being again attacked, as several bodies of men were seen on the tops of the mountains; but they proceeded without molestation, and the next day entered the confines of Tlascala, when the whole army expressed their joy by loud acclamations, and the Tlascalans kissed the earth. Here they rested themselves by a fine spring of fresh water, when Cortes observed to the people the great importance of preserving the friendship of the Tlascalans, exhorting them to treat the inhabitants of the city with kindness and civility, and to avoid giving offence to the meanest citizen. At noon Cortes entered Gualipar, a considerable town, where he was received with great hospitality, and having quartered his troops there, he sent two Tlascalans to the senate, with an account of his

retreat and success; but the messengers were scarcely dismissed, when he was visited by Magiscatzin, old Xicotencal with his son, and others, deputed by the senate to compliment him upon his return. They congratulated him upon his victory, testified the deepest concern for his wounds, lamented the loss of so many Spaniards, inveighed against the Mexicans, and offered to assist him in his revenge with all the forces of the republic and her allies. They proposed his immediately proceeding to the city, where quarters were already provided for the Spaniards. But he chose to remain in his present situation, until his people should be refreshed, and entirely recovered from their fatigues; to which the Tlascalans the more readily assented, as this would give them time to prepare for his reception, and his entering the city in a solemn triumph.

The Spaniards were liberally supplied with necessaries, at the expence of the public, during a stay of three days at Gualipar, when adorning themselves with the plumes and jewels of the vanquished Mexicans, they began their march for Tlascala, which they entered in July 1520. The senate, in their richest robes, came out with a numerous attendance to receive them; the fields were crowded with people; the air was filled with acclamations, and they were saluted at their entrance with the sounds of flutes, drums and horns. The festival kept in honour of their triumph continued some days, during which the Tlascalans celebrated the victory with all the diversions practised in that part of the world. Cortes was deeply moved with the affection they showed on this occasion; his officers behaved towards these faithful allies with the utmost

cordiality, and the common soldiers generously shared with them the jewels and other spoils they had obtained from the Mexicans.

But in the midst of this festival a damp was given to the public joy by Cortes's illness. The wound in his head broke out afresh; he was seized with a dangerous fever, and his friends began to despair of his life. The mirth of Tlascala was instantly changed into mourning; and both the nobles and people expressed their concern, by constantly inquiring after his health; but the senate employing the most expert physicians of the country, he speedily recovered.

Cortes, who was now extremely impatient to know the state of affairs at Vera Cruz, wrote to the governor, and received an answer, that no alteration had happened in the garrison, or on the coast; that Narvaez and Salvatierra were still in safe custody; but that a corporal and eight soldiers, who had been sent to Tlascala, for the gold belonging to the garrison, were not returned: that it was reported among the natives, that they were murdered in the province of Tepeaca; and that it was feared the wounded soldiers of the army of Narvaez had met the same fate; for, being impatient to reach Mexico, which they considered to be the centre of wealth, as fast as they recovered they had marched from Zempoalla to it. The truth of this report was now confirmed by the Tlascalans, who had hitherto concealed it from Cortes, lest it should retard his recovery; and he had the mortification to find himself thus deprived of a reinforcement of near fifty Spaniards. Cortes therefore resolved to be revenged on that nation, and the Tlascalans promised him all the assistance in their power.

At this time ambassadors from the new emperor of Mexico arrived at Gualipar, whence they sent to desire leave of the senate to enter the city with proposals of peace. This being granted with the consent of Cortes, they made a public entry with great splendour and solemnity, preceded by carriers bearing presents, which consisted, as usual, of gold and silver, fine cotton cloths, plumes, &c. The ambassadors, richly adorned with jewels, and attended by a numerous retinue, were received in the senate-house, where they made offers of peace and perpetual alliance to the Tlascalans; on condition that they should declare war against the Spaniards, and assist them to extirpate those insolent strangers. The Tlascalans expressed their aversion to these proposals, by murmurs of disapprobation; and the senate, after some deliberation, unanimously rejected them. The ambassadors, however, did not wait a formal dismission; but, dreading the resentment of the populace, hastily quitted the city.

Notwithstanding the regard the Tlascalans upon this, and other occasions, showed for the Spaniards, Xicotencal still hated and envied Cortes; but had hitherto disguised these dispositions under the mask of friendship. Though he did not speak in the senate, in behalf of the Mexicans, he endeavoured to sow jealousies among the people, by means of his friends; privately magnifying the advantages of an alliance with the Mexicans, and representing their friendship for the Spaniards as a dangerous connexion, that would intail slavery and oppression upon them and their posterity. The senate was soon informed of these practices; and, upon this occasion, held a consultation on the

punishment to be inflicted on this agitator. His father was of opinion that he ought to suffer death; but the senate, unwilling to deprive him of life, ordered him to be brought before them in chains, when they reproached him with his perfidious conduct, deprived him of all the honours he enjoyed, and cast him out of the senate-house. A few days after he was thus degraded, Xicotencal implored forgiveness of Cortes, who did not know of his crime until after punishment was inflicted. This Cortes not only granted, but interposed so successfully with the senate on his behalf, that Xicotencal was restored to his former rank and honours.

Xicotencal now endeavoured to atone for his fault by his diligence in assembling the troops of the republic. Meanwhile the soldiers who came with Narvaez, being disgusted at the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, and intimidated at the thoughts of a new war, loudly exclaimed against the expedition to Tepeaca, and even delivered a formal protestation to Cortes, signifying their refusal to undertake that enterprise, and their desire to march immediately for Vera Cruz, where they might be nearer at hand to solicit reinforcements from St. Domingo and Jamaica.

Cortes was greatly provoked at this insolent remonstrance, but thought proper to disguise his resentment, and to represent to them, that as the Tepeacans had seized the passes of the mountains, is was impossible for them to reach Vera Cruz without fighting them, in which he would be assisted by the Tlascalan troops, that were assembling for that purpose; but he assured them, that as soon as those Indians should be subdued, they who were unwilling to follow his fortune, might depart.

Cortes, having thus reconciled his troops to the service, marched with 8000 choice Tlascalans, commanded by officers of distinguished valour, and left the care of bringing up the rest to Xicotencal. Having proceeded three leagues, they spent the night in a village abandoned by the enemy; and the next morning Cortes ordered some of the natives, who had been taken by the advanced guard, to be brought before him, gave them some presents, and set them at liberty, on their promising to tell the cacique of Tepeaca, in his name, that he was come to revenge the death of the Spaniards, whom they had treacherously murdered; yet if they would join him and his allies against the Mexicans, he would pardon what was passed, and consider them as friends. With this message the Indians departed, and returned the next day with an answer, in which all terms of peace were rejected, and the Spaniards threatened with being carried for sacrifices to the altars of their gods. The Tepeacans now took the field in order to stop their march, and formed an ambuscade in some fields of maize, which might have turned to their advantage, had not their impatience occasioned their being discovered by Cortes, when at a considerable distance. He, however, marched on as if he had not the least suspicion; but suddenly wheeling about, attacked them with great fury, and made a prodigious slaughter. The battle soon became general; but though the Tepeacans fought with great bravery, they were soon thrown into confusion, and being deserted by their Mexican allies, were totally routed, with the loss of almost their whole army. They therefore the same night sent deputies to implore the mercy of the conqueror.

The next day Cortes marched with his army into the city, where the inhabitants threw themselves at his feet with marks of extreme fear. But on his ordering his interpreters to proclaim king Charles, and a general pardon in the name of that prince, their apprehensions were converted into joy, and they intreated Cortes to take their city into his protection, that they might never more be influenced by the Mexicans to renounce their treaty with the Spaniards. Cortes instantly took advantage of this request, fortified the city with palisades and a trench, and built a kind of citadel to keep them in obedience, and secure the passage to Vera Cruz. But before this work was begun, he sent all the prisoners who had been taken in the battle to Tlascala, where, by his direction, they were publicly sold for slaves.

Some time after Xicotencal arrived with 35,000 troops, when Cortes, in order to keep them employed, sent different detachments, under the conduct of Spanish officers, to reduce some parts of the province of Tepeaca, from whence they returned victorious, after they had enriched themselves with a considerable booty, and a great number of captives, who were also sold for slaves.

Quetlavaca, emperor of Mexico, dying about this time, the electors conferred the imperial dignity on Guatimozin, son-in-law to Montezuma, a young prince of great sagacity, who immediately encouraged the soldiers with rewards and considerable privileges; treated the nobles with affability, and exempted his subjects from all tribute during the continuance of the war; made presents to the caciques on his frontiers, in order to confirm them in their fidelity, and sent an army of 30,000 men for their support.

Cortes received an account of these transactions from some deputies from the cacique of Guacachula, a populous and warlike city, situated in the road to Mexico, who came to complain of the tyranny of the Mexicans, and to implore the assistance of the Spaniards against them. As Cortes made no doubt of the sincerity of this cacique, and thought it highly necessary to expel the enemy from such an important place, he immediately formed a body of 30,000 Tlascalans, with 300 Spanish infantry, and 13 horsemen, and the next morning sent this army with the envoys of Guacachula, under the command of Christoval de Olid, who was directed to repulse the enemy, and take possession of the town. They proceeded very cheerfully for six leagues, when, being about that distance from Guacachula, they were told by the inhabitants of the country, that the emperor of Mexico was marching against them with all his forces; and this report made such an impression on Narvaez's soldiers, that they positively refused to proceed, and De Olid found it very difficult to prevail on them to break this resolution. This dispute was scarcely ended, when several bodies of armed men were seen advancing towards them from the mountains with great expedition, on which De Olid drew up his people in order of battle. However, some horsemen, whom he had sent out for intelligence, soon informed him, that these Indians were commanded by the cacique of Guazocingo, and some of his neighbours, whose dominions had been ravaged by the Mexicans, and who were coming to assist the Spaniards. The Tlascalans, however, suspected their motives; and persuaded the Spaniards that they were not to be trusted, as they were probably sent by the Mexicans,

in order to fall upon the Spaniards during the engagement. This opinion had such an effect on De Olid, that he immediately caused the caciques to be seized, and sent in irons to Cortes, who continued at Tepeaca. This inconsiderate action, however, produced no ill consequence; for, as the Indians really came with a design to assist Cortes, they resolved to wait patiently for his determination, which, they hoped, would do justice to their sincerity; and, indeed, they were not disappointed. Cortes appeared equally displeased and concerned at seeing the caciques in chains, and instantly ordered their fetters to be knocked off, received them in the most friendly manner, and made an apology for the rashness of his captain, whom he promised to reprimand, and then set out with them in person to take the command of the troops.

Cortes no sooner arrived at the camp than every thing like mutiny disappeared; he blamed De Olid for his inconsiderate behaviour, and joining his new allies, marched directly towards Guacachula. The Mexicans, being informed of his motions, advanced between him and the city, and began the battle with great fury; the caciques of Guacachula taking advantage of this opportunity, fell suddenly on the rear of the Mexicans, who in little more than half an hour were entirely defeated. The Spaniards then entered the city, where they took up their quarters, while the Tlascalans and the other confederates, whose number was continually increasing, staid without the wall; and many other caciques joining them, Cortes's army soon after the battle amounted to 120,000 men.

Cortes now resolved to reduce Yzucon, a town naturally of great strength, fortified with walls and

ravelins, defended in front by a river, and garrisoned with 10,000 Mexicans, who had broke down the bridge, in order to dispute the passage. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, De Olid, who commanded the van-guard, attempted to cross the river; and though his horse was killed under him, and himself wounded in the thigh, with his troops he gained the opposite bank, and drove the enemy into the city, which they made a show of defending. The Spaniards had scarcely received orders for the attack, when the cries of the enemy suddenly ceased, the garrison disappeared, and the city was forsaken by the inhabitants: but some of the fugitives being brought back, were instantly discharged with the offer of a pardon and good treatment to all who should return to their houses, which had such an effect, that the town was almost filled the same day. The spoil obtained in both these actions Cortes distributed among his new allies, and then returned with the Tlascalans to Tepeaca, where the fort and settlement was now completed, to which he gave the name of Segura de la Frontera.

CHAP. XI.

Several ships arrive upon the coast with recruits from Velasquez, who all join Cortes. Deputies sent to the court of Spain to desire more assistance. The Spaniards march towards Mexico. Cortes's expedition against Tezeuco, where he sets up a new cacique.

A SHIP arrived about this time at St. Juan de Ulua, with thirteen Spanish soldiers, some provisions and ammunition, and two horses, sent by Diego de Velasquez to Narvaez, under the command of Pedro de Barba. Pedro de Cavallero, who commanded some troops on the coast, discovering this vessel, put off from shore in a boat, and saluted the new-comers with great civility; when Pedro de Barba inquiring after Narvaez, he replied without hesitation, that he was well and in great prosperity; for all those countries had submitted to him, while Cortes, with a few of his followers, had fled to the mountains. De Barba being deceived by this intelligence, landed without distrust, and was conducted to Vera Cruz, where finding himself outwitted, he readily embraced Cortes's interest, and received the command of a company of cross-bows. After which Cortes gained the affections of the soldiers, by making them presents, with which they were so pleased, that they readily enlisted in his service. He then read the letter intended for Narvaez, in which Velasquez promised to send him powerful succours, and ordered him to transport Cortes to Cuba, that he might be conveyed as a criminal to Spain, where the bishop of Burgos intended to make a public example of him in the most ignominious manner.

Eight days after a second ship arrived with eight soldiers more, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition; and the officer who commanded this vessel, being also trepanned by Cavallero, and sent to Segura, both he and his men entered into the service of Cortes.

As the general was resolved to make a new attempt to conquer Mexico, he formed the scheme of building twelve or thirteen brigantines, that should be able to resist the Indian canoes, in order to escape the danger of passing the causeways, and these he proposed to carry in pieces on the shoulders of the Indian carriers, over the mountains of Tlascala, to a river in the neighbourhood of the lake. This singular project he communicated to Martin Lopez, who not only approved of the design, but undertook to execute it with the utmost facility, and was therefore immediately sent to Tlascala, with all the Spanish carpenters, and a number of Indians to cut wood. He at the same time employed many hands in extracting pitch from trees that grew upon the mountains, and sent others to the volcano explored by Diego de Ordaz, from whence they brought a large quantity of sulphur, which was made into gun-powder. These previous steps having been taken, Cortes left instructions with the new council of Segura, and having appointed a commander of the garrison, which consisted of about twenty Spanish soldiers, set out for Tlascala.

It has been already observed, that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had sent an order to Cortes not to make any settlement on this coast: but notwithstanding the disappointment he met with in having his messengers seized, he now re-

sumed the enterprise, and sent three ships; but his soldiers had no sooner landed, than they were attacked with such fury by the Indians, that they were obliged to return to their ships in great disorder. His ships were afterwards separated for some days, when each of them severally formed the same design, and without knowing the sentiments of each other, arrived almost at the same instant on the coast of Vera Cruz, in order to serve under Cortes. The first ship that made land had sixty Spanish soldiers on board, commanded by captain Carnago; the second brought fifty men, and seven horses, under the command of a brave and experienced officer, named Miguel Diaz de Cruz; and the third brought about forty soldiers, ten horses, and great plenty of arms and provisions, and was commanded by captain Ramirez.

These people took the road to Tlascala, and were received with joy by the general and his people; but notwithstanding this acquisition of strength, the soldiers brought by Narvaez were still importunate for leave to return to the island of Cuba, and reminding Cortes of the promise he had made before they set out on the expedition to Tepeaca; he was now the more inclined to grant their request, from his having received this reinforcement of men, whom he imagined would be more obedient to his command. He therefore caused proclamation to be made, that all who desired to return should be furnished with vessels and other necessaries: upon which the greatest part of those that came with Narvaez seized this opportunity of returning to Cuba, among whom was Andres de Duero, who had been Cortes's particular friend.

Cortes, having directed Alverado to see these men

embark, sent orders to the confederates to get ready to march on the first notice, and in the mean time resolved to equip a vessel, and send other agents to Spain, in order to forward the negociations of Portocarrero and Montejo, and to desire them to send him an account of his interest at court, about which he was very anxious. For this purpose he wrote a memorial to the king, which contained an account of all the incidents that had happened, from the time of his marching out of Zempoalla, until his retreat to Tlascala; with an account of the wealth, power and extent of the Mexican empire, and the alliances he had concluded with the Indian nations, as the most proper means of bringing that vast and fertile country under the dominion of Spain. He desired speedy justice against the proceedings of Diego de Velasquez, and Francisco de Garay; solicited succours of men, horses, arms and ammunition; and besought his majesty to send some ecclesiastics, of approved virtue, to assist father Olmeda in the conversion of the Indians. The two councils of Vera Cruz and Segura also wrote to his majesty upon these subjects.

Cortes entrusted these dispatches to the care of Diego de Ordaz and Alonzo de Mendoza, who a few days after embarked for Spain, after having received private instructions to conceal their commission till they should find Cortes's father and the two agents, with whom they were to act in concert: and to give the greater weight to their joint solicitations, they carried a second present for the emperor,* which consisted of gold and curiosities. He at the same time dispatched Alonzo Davila and

* Charles I. king of Spain, had some time before been raised to the imperial throne, and was the fifth emperor of that name.

Francisco Alvarez Chico, with letters to the regulars of St. Jerome, who presided in the royal audience of St. Domingo, and had jurisdiction over all the islands and new discoveries on the main land, entreating their speedy assistance in promoting his success, and the interposition of their authority in putting a stop to the proceedings of Velasquez and Garay: and these fathers soon sent him a favourable answer, in which they promised to support the justice of his pretensions to the king of Spain, and to check all the efforts of his rivals.

After a prosperous voyage, Ordaz and Mendoza arrived at Seville, where they found the commissioners of trade had express orders from the bishop of Burgos to imprison any one sent from New Spain, and to seize the gold and other merchandise brought from thence. Therefore leaving the present for the emperor in the hands of those judges, they thought themselves happy in escaping with their letters and dispatches, and went in search of Martin Cortes, and the two agents, who had been sent from Mexico. These persons they found at Medellin, and being afterwards encouraged by Adriano, the cardinal-regent, to whom they showed Cortes's letters, entered a prosecution against the bishop of Burgos in his own court, and obtained a verdict in their favour.

These proceedings being laid before the emperor, he appointed commissioners finally to determine this important business. These were, Mercurio de Catinara, the great chancellor of Arragon; Hernando de Vega, lord of Graial, and great commander of Castile; Dr. Lorendo Galindez, of Caravajal; the licentiate, Francisco de Varjas, counsellor of state, and chamberlain to the king; and

Monsieur de la Rose, the Flemish minister. The election of persons so well qualified, showed the justice of his majesty's intentions: for Spain did not afford men, in whom the emperor reposed more confidence; nor were any to be found, in whom learning, prudence and equity appeared in a more eminent degree.

The first thing the council did, was to examine the memorials drawn from letters and relations produced at the trial; but there they were so embarrassed by contradictory accounts, that they found it necessary to order the agents on both sides to explain themselves, viva voce, in the next meeting; for they were all desirous to dispatch this affair, and examine strictly into the accusations brought by the parties against each other, and to the strength of their respective arguments, that so they might come to the knowledge of the truth, without tying themselves up to forms of law, which generally do but perplex a cause, and are so many obstacles to justice.

The next day the agents appeared before the council with their advocates; and, among those for Diego Velasquez, Andres de Duero signalized himself: but people were the less surprised to see him unfaithful to his friend, knowing he had been so first to his master. The memorials were read, and the parties were at the same time examined, in order to discover how they justified themselves from their respective accusations, and made good their complaints. From their answers, the judges were enabled, after a few days hearing, to come to a decision; and unanimously determined, that it was not reasonable for Diego Velasquez to appropriate to himself the advantages of the conquest of New

Spain, without a better title than that of having expended some money in the preparations for that enterprise, and naming Cortes for commander: that he could only have his action for what he had laid out, making it appear to be from his own proper stock, and not any of the effects belonging to the king in his government: that the nomination of Cortes afforded him no pretence either to the honor or advantage of the conquest; for, besides that he gave him the commission without the authority of the ministers of the royal audience, whose orders he should have received, or so much as acquainting them with it, he lost those prerogatives the day that he revoked it; and could have no right to say, that the conquest was made by his order, Cortes being, by that revocation, left free to act as he should judge most advantageous for the service of the king, with the troops and vessels which, for the most part, he had raised and equipped at his own expence, and that of his friends.

Though the judges were also very sensible, that the conduct of Cortes was not, in the beginning of this enterprize, altogether as regular as it should have been, yet they thought some allowance should be made for the ill treatment he had received, his just indignation thereat, and its admirable effects: a conquest so wonderful, and of so great importance, the difficulties of which had only served to manifest his incomparable valour, and, above all, his fidelity, and inviolable attachment to his duty! For which reason they judged him worthy to be continued in the command of what he had conquered, and to be encouraged and supported in an undertaking already so far advanced: and, lastly, they censured Diego Velasquez, as a person who

had showed a very ungovernable ambition, in aspiring, with so little reason, to usurp the glory and advantage of the actions of another; and as having been guilty of rashness, which deserved a very severe reprimand, in sending an army against Cortes, without considering the consequences that might have attended such violent proceedings, or regarding the orders he had received to the contrary, from the ministers of the royal audience of Saint Domingo.

This sentence being laid before the emperor, who at this time was just returned from Germany, it was approved by his majesty, and Hernando Cortes was declared a faithful subject; perpetual silence was ordered to be imposed on Velasquez, with respect to any pretensions to the conquest of New Spain, and he was only allowed to sue for the money he had expended in fitting out Cortes's fleet; several marks of the royal favour were bestowed on Martin Cortes, on account of his son's merit; some regulars were named for the conversion of the Indians, and a fleet was ordered to be speedily fitted out, with a supply of men, ammunition and horses.

The emperor also considering how much it imported to use the utmost dispatch, at a time when Cortes was engaged in war, and not without great suspicion of his rivals, he commanded the orders to be immediately drawn, and sent by several letters. One was directed to the governors and royal audience of St. Domingo, signifying to them his resolution, with orders to assist Cortes to the utmost of their power, and remove all impediments to his conquest. Another was to Diego Velasquez, strictly enjoining him to desist from further interfering in that enterprise, and severely censuring his violent

proceedings. There was another to Francisco de Garay, blaming him for attempting any thing on New Spain, and forbidding him to continue that design. The last was directed to Hernando Cortes, and abounded in those marks of honor and favour, which kings bestow on those from whom they have received extraordinary services, when they do not disdain to own the obligation. The emperor, in this letter, did not only approve the past actions of Cortes, but withal his present design, and the disposition he had made for retaking the city of Mexico. He let him know how sensible he was of his valour and constancy, not forgetting to take notice of the prudence and address with which he had managed both his own troops and those of his confederates. His majesty also informed him of the orders he had given to secure him from his rivals, and of the commission he had sent him to be governor and captain-general of that country: he assured him, at the same time, of more solid proofs of his acknowledgment; and made particular and honorable mention of the captains and soldiers who had served under him. He recommended to him, in a most pressing manner, to treat the natives well, and to take care to have them instructed in the Christian religion. He lastly gave him hopes of speedy succour and assistance; referring to his valour and fidelity the final accomplishment of so great a work.

Cortes in the mean time received another unexpected supply of thirteen Spanish soldiers, who came in order to seek their fortunes, in a vessel that arrived at Vera Cruz laden with arms, gunpowder and provisions. He therefore resolved to begin his march; and as the troops of his allies were already assembled, he did not choose to wait

until the brigantines were finished. It was agreed that their first attempt should be made upon Tezeuco, which being in the road from Tlascala, and almost on the borders of the lake, they resolved to fortify and maintain as a sure retreat, where they might be sheltered from all the accidents of war.

This resolution being taken, Cortes reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 540 soldiers, with forty horsemen, and nine pieces of artillery that were brought on shore from the ships. This review was made with great ostentation, in order to raise the admiration of the Indians, an innumerable concourse of whom were assembled to see the spectacle; and they were so delighted with the flying colours, and the dexterity of the soldiers in managing the horses, handling their arms, and saluting the general, that they filled the air with acclamations of applause. Xicotencal, at the head of 10,000 Tlascalans, complimented Cortes, by appearing in his gayest accoutrements, and performed the Indian exercise with equal pomp and agility. All his captains being adorned with variegated feathers, and jewels hanging at their ears and lips; they carried their two-handed swords under the left arm, with the points upward, and each was attended by a page, who bore his shield, on which was represented in figures his warlike achievements.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of governing an army of many different nations without strict discipline, formed several articles of war, to be observed on pain of death: such as that no man should draw his sword against another, either in quarters, or on the march; that a Spaniard should neither, in word or action, insult a confederate In-

dian; that no man should violate or abuse a woman, though belonging to the enemy; that no soldier should, without leave, quit the army to go and plunder; and, that they should not gamble away their horses and arms. He also prohibited blasphemy, swearing and other crimes, on pain of infamy and degradation. These orders being interpreted to the commander of the Indian troops, had a surprising effect in reforming their discipline; and after a few examples had been made, they behaved with the utmost regularity and circumspection.

The general having settled these wise regulations, and every thing being ready for the march, he commanded the Indians to form themselves into gross battalions: after they were ranged in order of battle, he marched out of the village at the head of the Spaniards; and, by their example, showed the Indians how to double their files, with all the leisure which that movement requires. After this he called together the principal commanders of the several nations, and, by the help of the interpreters, made them a short exhortation: he recommended to them "to animate their men, by convincing them that the present undertaking concerned their common interest, as being to fight for their own liberty, and that of their country; to send all back who were not willing to stay; to take very particular care to punish the breach of orders; and, above all, to lay before them the obligation they were under, of following the example of their friends, the Spaniards, both in their actions of valour, and in their moderation." Then addressing the Spaniards, "I do not pretend, my friends and companions, to make you sensible, by vain exaggerations, of the obligations you lie under, to act in this expedition

like Spaniards; I have already had sufficient proofs of your courage, and have even envied the gallantry of your actions. What I am now to recommend to you, is rather under the character of your companion than your general, that we should all, with equal care, consider this great multitude of Indians who follow us, and who regard our cause as their own; which lays us under two obligations, both worthy of our particular attention. The first is, to behave towards them as friends, and even to bear with them, if it be necessary, as creatures of an inferior degree of reason; and the other is, to give them an example by our actions. You are sensible of the orders which have been published to all, and the least offence against them, among you, will be aggravated by the addition of setting a bad example; every one must consider the influence his transgressions may have, or else the rest will be obliged to consider the important influence of their just punishment. I shall be extremely concerned to find myself necessitated to proceed with rigour against the man of least account among you: but this concern will be unavoidable; for I am resolved to be just, as well as patient. You are all sensible of the great undertaking we have in hand; it is no less than the conquest of an empire for our king, and will be an action worthy to be recorded in history. The forces we already have, with those who are yet to join us, will be proportioned to this heroic design; and God, whose cause we defend, and who has hitherto miraculously supported us, will go along with us; nor is it possible to suppose he will abandon an enterprise, in which he hath so often declared himself our leader. Let us then follow him, and not displease him."

After this speech, which was answered with loud acclamations, on the feast of Innocents, in the year 1520, he put himself at the head of the army, which consisted of 60,000 men; and having before sunset marched six leagues, took up his quarters in Tezmeluca, a town on the confines of Mexico, under the jurisdiction of Guacozingo, who had provided plenty of provisions for the whole army. The next day they proceeded with all possible precaution into the country of the enemy; and being informed that the Mexicans were assembled on the other side of a mountain, in the road to Tezeuco, halted all night in the open fields, making large fires on account of the weather. Early in the morning they began to ascend the mountain, which was overgrown with wood: but having proceeded about a league, they found the way blocked up with trees, and sharp stakes fixed in the sand, in order to wound the horses. However, these impediments were soon removed by a detachment of 2,000 Tlascalans, and small parties were sent to guard against ambuscades. Having marched two leagues farther, they arrived at the summit of the mountain, from which they had a view of the great lake of Mexico, and saw fires successively kindled in the distant towns, as signals of their approach; then continuing their march until they got clear of the woods, they descried the enemy's army at a great distance. It filled a large plain, through which ran a river collected from the neighbouring hills, and over it was laid a small wooden bridge, which was left as a decoy to the Spaniards, whom they intended to attack before they could form on the other side; but as Cortes advanced, their courage failed them, and they gradually retired from the pass until part

of the Spaniards had crossed the bridge, when twenty horsemen and a body of Tlascalans being detached to keep them in play, they fled with great precipitation, and took shelter among the rocks and mountains, whither Cortes did not think fit to pursue them.

That evening the troops took up their quarters in a place within three leagues of Tezeuco, and the next day continued their march, when they observed ten unarmed Indians hastening towards them, with a plate of gold fastened to the top of a lance, as a signal of peace. These were ambassadors from the cacique of Tezeuco, who came to beseech Cortes to spare his country, and to admit him into the number of his confederates; they let him know that he had provided good quarters for the Spaniards in the city, and that his allies would be supplied with all necessaries without the walls. Being examined in private, they told Cortes that the present emperor had threatened their prince with intolerable oppression, on account of his having refused to vote for him at his election, which had made him resolve to sue for his protection.

This prince was probably Cacumazin, who had been dispossessed by Montezuma, and restored by the new emperor, on account of his inveterate dislike to the Spaniards. However this be, Cortes summoned a council of his officers, let them know the proposals he had received, and that he doubted the cacique's sincerity. Upon which it was resolved to proceed with great caution, and in the mean time to embrace, with seeming pleasure, the proffered alliance, in order to obtain a free entrance into the town, where they might continue upon their guard, and act as occasion should require.

Cortes therefore dispatched the ambassadors with thanks, and that night lodged in a village by the town, which was deserted by its inhabitants, a circumstance that increased his suspicion, especially as the cacique did not come out to congratulate him upon his arrival. In the morning he was preparing to attack the town, when he found the gates open, and having entered without resistance, he advanced in order through the streets, until he arrived at a large square, in which he drew up the greatest part of his men, while the rest guarded the avenues. The inhabitants, who in several places appeared in crowds, had all the signs of fear, and as there was not a woman to be seen, he made no doubt of their having formed some hostile design. He therefore dispatched several Spanish officers, and some Tlascalans, to take possession of the chief temple, which being performed, they observed great numbers of the inhabitants flying, some to the mountains, and others in canoes to Mexico, whither the cacique himself had retired, attended by a few followers; for Cortes was soon informed, that the cacique finding, on the return of his ambassadors, how strongly Cortes was supported by his Indian allies, was afraid of putting in execution a scheme he had formed for letting the Spaniards into the city, where, being in full security, he thought they might be destroyed in one night by the Mexicans, whom he had promised to admit in the dark for that purpose. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortes resolved to conciliate the affections of the people, by forbidding his soldiers, under the severest penalties, to commit the least outrage against the inhabitants. All the Spaniards, and part of the Tlascalans, he quartered in the cacique's palace,

while the rest, to prevent incommoding the people, lodged in the neighbouring streets without entering the houses.

The next morning some of the priests came with a petition in behalf of their gods, to return thanks for the moderation with which they had been treated, and to desire permission for their nobles to come and make an offer of their obedience and friendship. This request being granted, they came in great formality, headed by a youth of a genteel mien, who told Cortes, that he came with his friends to serve in his army, and hoped they should deserve his protection. Cortes embraced the young man, and having received his followers with marks of respect, retired with them to a private apartment, in order to ask them some questions by means of his interpreters: when they let him know, that the youth was son to the elder brother of Cacumazin, and heir to the crown, which that usurper had possessed, after murdering the lawful sovereign; and that he had rendered himself odious by his tyranny and oppression. Upon hearing these circumstances, Cortes resolved to raise this young prince to the throne, and the next day caused him to be crowned with great solemnity, when the people expressed their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations. In consequence of this revolution the city was soon re-peopled by the return of those families that had fled to the mountains; the Mexicans were declared the enemies of the city, and the Spaniards revered as its benefactors.

CHAP. XII.

Cortes marches to the city of Iztapalapa, where he and his army narrowly escape being drowned. The war with Mexico renewed. Several brigantines, built by Cortes's order at Zempoalla, brought in pieces to Tezeuco, in order to navigate the lakes of Mexico. He takes several towns, but is repulsed at Tacuba, and his army exposed to great danger; whereupon he returns to Tezeuco.

CORTES, in order to facilitate his enterprise upon Mexico, and to employ his Indian allies, now resolved to advance with part of his forces to the city of Iztapalapa, situated six leagues nearer Mexico, on the side of the causeway. He set out on this expedition with 300 Spaniards, and 10,000 Tlascalans, leaving the military government of Tezeuco to Gonzalo de Sandoval. They began their march by the causeway, designing first to possess themselves of that part of the city which was built upon it, and to dislodge the inhabitants, with the artillery and fire-arms, from the other part that was built on the lake. But they no sooner came within sight of Iztapalapa, than they were opposed by a body of 8000 Mexicans, who fought with great bravery, and then retired into the city, where, without staying to defend the entrance, or shut up the gates, they threw themselves into the lake.

Cortes, finding that the gates were left open, entered the city, the higher part of which was entirely abandoned, and proposed to take up his quarters there for the night; but it no sooner began to grow dark, than the Spaniards perceived the canals overflow, and the water of the lake

rushing with great impetuosity from a number of sluices, which obliged them to quit the place in the greatest hurry to prevent the whole army being drowned.

Cortes was extremely mortified at the success of this stratagem, and spent the night on a little rising ground, where the troops suffered by the wetness of their clothes and the coldness of the weather, and at day-break retreated towards Tezeuco, making his men march as fast as possible to keep them warm: but they had not advanced far, when seeing themselves pursued by a vast multitude of the enemy, they were obliged to wheel about in order to sustain the attack, which was very violent: the Mexicans, however, being soon repulsed with considerable loss, the army resumed their march; but notwithstanding this the enemy rallied, and twice returned to the charge, by which they lost above 6000 men.

While Cortes continued at Tezeuco, many of the neighbouring caciques came to form an alliance with him against the emperor of Mexico, and among others, deputies arrived in great haste from the provinces of Chalco and Otumba, to solicit assistance against an army that appeared on their frontiers, in order to punish them for having entered into an alliance with the Spaniards. Cortes resolving to grant them immediate assistance, detached Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo, with 200 Spaniards, 15 horse, and a body of Tlascalans. These were attacked on their march by a body of Mexicans who lay in ambuscade; but though they were easily routed, they afterwards assembled a formidable army on the road: however, Sandoval and Lugo being apprised of their

design, advanced in great order, and though the Mexicans rushed upon them with great impetuosity, they met with so warm a reception from the fire-arms and cross-bows, as put them to a stand; when the horse advancing, followed by the infantry and Tlascalans, they were soon thrown into confusion, and being at the same time attacked in the rear by the troops of Otumba and Chalco, were entirely defeated with a terrible slaughter, and eight of the most considerable persons in the army taken prisoners. After this the Spaniards passed the night in the city of Chalco, where they were entertained with great hospitality; and as the Chalquese had long been at enmity with the Tlascalans, the Spanish captains seized this opportunity of proposing a peace between the two nations, which was afterwards confirmed by the senate of Tlascala.

Sandoval and Lugo, having thus happily terminated this expedition, returned to Tezeuco, when Cortes ordered the eight Mexican prisoners to be brought before him, and received them in the midst of his captains, with a look of great severity, while they had all the marks of terror and confusion, expecting a punishment they thought inevitable; but he let them know, that though it was now in his power to make them suffer for the cruelties they had exercised on his people, he would convince them that the Spaniards were as much their superiors in generosity as in value, and that he would grant them both life and liberty, if they would promise him to inform their prince, that he was coming to demand satisfaction for their perfidiously attacking him in his retreat from Mexico, in direct opposition to the treaty which they themselves had proposed and confirmed; but prin-

cipally to revenge Montezuma's death. That his army being now augmented, he would in a short time seek the emperor in the midst of his court, and lay the city of Mexico in ashes, unless he would sue for a peace, which should be granted on reasonable terms. He then ordered the prisoners to be unchained, and to have a boat to carry them to Mexico by water; at which they threw themselves at his feet, and promised not only to make the emperor acquainted with what he said, but to use their utmost endeavours to procure an accommodation.

Martin Lopez about this time sent word to Cortes that the brigantines were finished, and that he would speedily set forward with them, the republic of Tlascala having provided 10,000 carriers, and 2,000 to relieve those who should be tired, besides those appointed to carry the provisions and ammunition: but that he thought it adviseable to stay in the last town of the Tlascalans for a convoy of Spaniards, since it would not be safe to pass through the Mexican territories without any other force than that of the Indian allies.

This news filled the army with joy, and Cortes immediately gave orders to Sandoval to march with two hundred Spanish infantry, fifteen horsemen, and some companies of Tlascalans, towards the territories of the republic, in order to conduct Lopez with his materials to Tezeuco. This officer accordingly set out, but halted at Zalepeque, a small town that refused to submit, and was the very place where the Spaniards were murdered in their way from Vera Cruz to Mexico, for which reason he had orders to chastise and reduce the inhabitants; but they no sooner perceived the detachment than they

fled to the mountains, when Sandoval entering the town, found written with charcoal on a wall, 'In this house the unhappy Juan Justina was taken, with many others of his companions;' and afterwards they found, in one of the temples, the heads of the Spaniards dried, to preserve them from putrefaction.

This dreadful sight filled the Spaniards with rage, and Sandoval resolved to punish the inhabitants with the utmost rigour. At this instant several companies that had been detached in pursuit of the fugitives, returned with a great number of men, women and children, after having killed on the mountains all who refused to surrender. These poor creatures, half dead with fear, implored the mercy of the Spaniards by their tears and outcries, and soon moved them to compassion. Sandoval privately desired the officers to intercede in their behalf, that they might set the greater value on their pardon, which he at length granted, and received the submission of the cacique and principal citizens, who afterwards strictly adhered to the Spaniards.

The remains of the murdered Spaniards being decently interred, Sandoval continued his march to the frontiers of Tlascala, where Martin Lopez received him with joy. He had with him a young officer called Chichemecal, who commanded the Tlascalan reinforcement, and had been, with difficulty, persuaded to wait for the Spanish detachment; he being extremely desirous of distinguishing himself against the Mexicans. The men having been allowed sufficient time for rest and refreshment, Sandoval prepared for marching back to Tezeuco, when Chichemecal took such umbrage at

his being stationed in the rear, that he could scarcely be prevailed upon to proceed, until Sandoval proposed to march along with him. The van-guard consisted of part of the Spaniards and Tlascalans, who came from Tezeuco; the carriers marched rank and file with their burdens, and being properly secured on their flanks, formed the main body, while the rear was brought up by the new reinforcement. In this order they marched through the Mexican territories, without being molested by the enemy, though different bodies of Mexicans frequently appeared on the distant hills. On their approaching Tezeuco, they were met by Cortes and the cacique of that city, and made their entrance into it amidst the acclamations of the whole army, after which all the materials were separately stored in a large work-house, prepared for that purpose near the canals.

Cortes being informed that the vessels could not be finished in less than twenty days, resolved to engage in some enterprise; and, therefore, leaving the government of Tezeuco to Sandoval, put himself at the head of a detachment of 250 Spanish infantry, 20 horsemen, and a numerous body of the nobles of Tezeuco, 15,000 Tlascalans under the command of Chichemecal, and about 5,000 commanded by Xicotencal, and began his march towards Yaltocan, a town five leagues from Tezeuco, situated upon one of the small lakes that discharged themselves into the great lake of Mexico, resolving to chastise the inhabitants for returning an insolent answer, and wounding the messengers he had sent to require their obedience. He found the Mexicans drawn up in order of battle at a small distance from the town; but after the first discharge of the

fire-arms and cross-bows, the horse rushed in among them, put them into disorder, and they were soon entirely defeated with a great slaughter; those who survived flying to the mountains.

After this victory Cortes deferred making an assault upon the town until the next day. But the enterprise was found much more difficult than was imagined; for it was situated in the lake, and the bridge or causeway being broke down, it was entirely surrounded with water, whence it would have been impossible to have carried the place, had not Cortes been informed by one of the Indians of Tezeuco, that a little higher the lake was fordable. Immediately he ordered two companies of Spaniards, supported by a large number of the allies, to pass over, which they performed in spite of the enemy, who boldly defended the passage with their slings and arrows, and obliged every man to fight while he was up to the middle in water; but the Mexicans were no sooner driven from the shore, and observed the Spaniards drawn up in a plain near the town, than retiring with precipitation to their canoes, they left the place unguarded, on which the Spaniards entered without opposition. The soldiers were allowed to plunder the town, in order to punish the inhabitants; but they had left very little behind them. However, some loads of corn and salt were transported to the army, with considerable quantities of cotton cloths, and some jewels, which had not been concealed; fire was then set to the principal temples, in order to strike terror into the fugitives, after which the army repassed the ford.

Cortes then continued his march, and found several towns, situated upon the lake, that had been

abandoned by the inhabitants, in each of which he lodged one night, in order to make observations, and afterwards retired without suffering any damage to be done to the buildings; to show the Indians that he never used rigor, but where he met with resistance.

He now advanced towards Tacuba, a place of great importance, on account of its being nearer to Mexico than any of the other towns upon the lake; but he only designed to take a view of it, in order to form some scheme for attacking it at a more convenient opportunity. On approaching the town, he observed a vast multitude of the enemy, and in an instant they poured on him with their usual impetuosity; but after several ineffectual efforts they fled, and were pursued with great slaughter. The Spaniards passed the night in the field of battle, and the next morning were again assaulted by the enemy, who, on their being once more routed, fled into Tacuba, and being closely pursued, some of the Spaniards and allies entered with them, and maintained the fight within the city; but night approaching, Cortes ordered them back, and to set fire to the houses, in order to occupy the Mexicans, while the Spaniards and allies effected their retreat.

Cortes staid five days in this place, during which he was frequently attacked by the Indians, who were always driven back to the city with great loss, from which he began to entertain hopes of carrying the town, after the garrison should be wasted by these diurnal sallies. At length he observed a considerable body of Mexicans advancing on the causeway, and having permitted a part of them to pass and draw up on the main land, he charged

them with great fury, when, after a faint resistance, they fled towards the causeway, and he following, fell into the snare they had laid for him; for his troops were no sooner crowded on this narrow pavement, than the Mexicans faced about, while innumerable canoes sailed out of Mexico, and invested both sides of the causeway, by which means the Spaniards were attacked in front, flank and rear at the same time. What rendered their situation still more dangerous was, that many of the Mexicans were armed with long spears, pointed with the swords they had taken from the unfortunate soldiers who had been killed in their retreat from that city. In this emergency Cortes formed a front every way, made great havoc among the enemy, and at length brought off his troops, many of whom were wounded, and a pair of colours in great danger of being taken.

Cortes being sensible of the difficulty of reducing Tacuba, returned to Tezeuco, where he had the satisfaction of learning that a vessel was arrived at Vera Cruz, laden with a great quantity of arms and ammunition, with a person on board named Julian de Alderete, who came in the capacity of king's treasurer, and some Spanish soldiers of distinction, who instantly marched to Tlascala, where they obtained an escort which conducted them to Tezeuco.

CHAP. XIII.

Sandoval obtains three victories over a Mexican army. Cortes marches to Suchimilco; makes an unsuccessful attempt to scale a mountain defended by the Mexicans; defeats one of their armies; obtains a second victory before Suchimilco, and takes that city, where he narrowly escapes being carried prisoner to Mexico.

ABOUT this time the caciques of Chalco and Thumanalco sending messengers to Cortes to desire his assistance against a powerful army of Mexicans, he ordered Sandoval to march with a body of forces to their relief. The Mexicans had fortified themselves in some hollow ways, where they were secured from the attacks of the horse, whence Sandoval with great difficulty dislodged them. They, however, rallied again upon the plain, where they soon gave way and dispersed; but the Spaniards pursuing them made such a terrible slaughter, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces.

Immediately after, Sandoval being informed that a body of 14 or 15,000 Mexicans were advancing towards him, the troops were called in from the pursuit, and being again ranged in order of battle, marched to meet them; but these forces being soon routed, fled in great confusion to the town of Guastapeque; the Spaniards entered the place at the same time, and dividing into several streets, drove out the enemy with a terrible slaughter. Sandoval allowed the soldiers to plunder the place; but soon after the cacique and principal inhabitants making submission, and Sandoval being informed that the Mexicans, who had escaped from the two last en-

gagements, had rendezvoused at Capistlan, he marched immediately to that town, which was situated on the top of a high rock, whence the Mexicans, trusting to their situation, exasperated the Spaniards by their reproaches. Sandoval ordered the troops of Chalco and Tlascala to advance, on account of their being accustomed to those rugged passes; but observing they did not obey him with their usual alacrity, he mounted the rocks at the head of the Spaniards, which example animated them to such a degree, that they clambered up with surprising intrepidity. The Mexicans seeing this, retired with marks of despondence into the town, but were afterwards driven out to the very edge of the precipice, and all who did not throw themselves down were put to the sword.

Sandoval having gained these victories so suddenly, and the Mexicans having been driven out of the provinces that sued his protection, immediately returned to Tezeuco. As soon as the emperor received intelligence of his retreat, he ordered a new army to enter the province of Chalco, in order to intercept the communication of the Spaniards with Tlascala. The Chalquese, having hastily assembled their troops, and those of their allies, resolutely took the field. The two armies advanced towards each other with equal bravery; the battle was long and bloody, but the Chalquese obtained a complete victory. This intelligence was joyfully received by Cortes; as it proved that his allies were able to defend themselves.

Cortes now resolved to penetrate in person as far as Suchimilco, a town upon the lake, with a broad causeway, which joined those that led to Mexico. In his absence, he left the military command with

Sandoval, and the civil with the cacique Don Hernando, who was always submissive and affectionate. He set out from Tezeuco on the 5th of April, 1521, taking with him Christoval de Olid, Pedro de Alvarado, Andres de Tapia, and Julian de Alderete, with three hundred Spaniards, and such troops of Tezeuco and Tlascala as he judged necessary. This was a seasonable relief to the Chalquese, who had discovered a new army of Mexicans approaching them. The confederate caciques were already assembled in the city of Chalco, when Cortes suddenly arrived, and filled the city with joy and gratitude. That general being then told by the Indian scouts, that the Mexicans had taken possession of some almost inaccessible mountains on the road to Suchimilco, marched directly to the enemy, and took possession of a town at the foot of the mountains, which was deserted by its inhabitants, in which he spent the night. The next morning he entered the mountainous country by a narrow and difficult path; while the Mexicans showed themselves from the tops of the eminences on each side. The army marched slowly on, filing off as the nature of the gound required, until they came to an opening. There Cortes ordered the men to attack a considerable fortress, where the enemy appeared in great numbers; and without waiting to choose the least difficult path, commanded Pedro de Barba and Bernal Diaz de Castillo, to begin the attack. The Mexicans at first retired in seeming confusion; but when the Spaniards had mounted to the most dangerous part of the precipice, they suddenly returned with hideous outcries, and rolled down large stones, which bore down every thing in their way. The Spaniards immediately abandoned

the path, and sought shelter in the hollows of the rock. The general, then seeing the impossibility of succeeding, ordered a retreat, which was effected with the greatest difficulty; four Spaniards being killed, Pedro de Barba and many others wounded.

Cortes was much mortified by this repulse, it being the effect of his own imprudence, and again determined to gain the summit, by seeking a less dangerous path. This design he was also compelled to abandon, by a body of the enemy, which had been posted on the other side of the mountain, coming down and possessing themselves of a wood near the road in his rear; those above, at the same time, leaving their fortification, and following at a distance. This stratagem, though ably contrived, was feebly carried into effect: the Mexicans fled at the first discharge, and, favoured by the thickness of the woods, suffered little loss in the pursuit. Cortes now continued his march, without further interruption than the cries of the enemy, on the road to Guastepeque. Having advanced a league and a half further, he perceivèd another fortress, like the former, which the enemy had garrisoned. The Mexicans, by cries and menaces, endeavoured to provoke the Spaniards to an assault; but it was near night, and the general, taught by the recent failure of a similar attempt, declined the challenge. The army encamped near a little forsaken village, on the top of an eminence, which commanded the surrounding country. The Spaniards here suffered severely from the want of water; but in the morning some springs were discovered, which supplied their necessities. The soldiers being refreshed, Cortes advanced to the fortress, and found it more inaccessible than the former; for the road in going

up, went several times round it, and was throughout exposed to the arrows of the enemy: but perceiving an eminence within musket-shot, which the Mexicans had neglected to occupy, he commanded Verdugo Barba and Alderete, with the musketeers, to seize it. This was presently carried into effect. The Mexicans, suffering severely from their fire, and unable to injure their assailants, abandoned the fort, and forsook this part of the country.

Before the army renewed their march, several of the natives were observed on a neighbouring hill, waving white cloths, and making signs of submission. These Cortes sending for, the cacique immediately came down, and tendered his obedience; submitting not only the fort where he resided, but also the one they had taken and evacuated, it belonging to his jurisdiction. He made an apology with the air of a man that spoke truth, and laid all the blame of the resistance they experienced on the Mexicans, who were too powerful for him. Cortes admitted his excuses, either that he believed them true, or that he did not think it a proper time to examine them strictly. The cacique seemed very unwilling that he should pass through his territories, without receiving the homage of his vassals; and Cortes was obliged to send two companies of Spaniards, who took possession in the name of the emperor Charles V., according to the custom observed at that time.

The army then continued its march to Guastepeque, a populous town, which Sandoval had left in peace; and which they found as full of inhabitants, and as well stocked with provisions, as if it had been a time of peace, or that they had not been injured by the oppression of the Mexicans. The

cacique, with the principal inhabitants, came to wait upon Cortes, to assure him of his obedience, and invite him to accept of a lodging he had prepared for the Spaniards in his own palace, and other lodgings in the city for the commanders of the confederate troops; promising to supply the rest with all necessary provisions, which he performed with great prudence and liberality.

His palace was so sumptuous a building, that it might vie with those of Montezuma, and so large, that all the Spaniards were lodged in it with ease. In the morning he brought them into a garden, which he kept for his amusement; the spaciousness and fertility of which the Spaniards greatly admired, because it far exceeded their expectations, and was afterwards considered to be one of the wonders of that new world. It was above half a league in length, and nearly the same in breadth; the ground was level and uniform, and regularly divided into plats, in which were all the fruit-trees and plants, that the country produced: there were also several ponds, which received the waters of the neighbouring mountains; and several squares, after the manner of parterres, full of flowers and medicinal herbs, cultivated with great care, and placed in exact order; the work of a powerful lord, who had a taste for agriculture, and had studied to heighten the beauties of nature with the ornaments of art.

Cortes endeavoured to engage this cacique in his interest, by some presents; but receiving advice, that the enemy occupied Quatlavaca, a town through which he was to pass, in considerable force, he took but little pleasure in the beauty of the place, and gave orders for the army immediately to march,

not without some concern that he had waited longer than he ought.

Quatlavaca was a populous town, strong by nature, situated between barrancas, or breakings of the earth above eight fathoms deep, which served as a ditch to the place, and passages for the water that descended from the mountains. The Mexicans had cut down the bridges, and covered the banks with such a number of soldiers, that the passage seemed impracticable. While the confederates occupied the enemy in front, the main body of the Spaniards crossed the barranca lower down, by means of temporary bridges, formed of trees, which Cortes had ordered to be felled and laid across. The enemy, quickly sensible of their negligence, attacked those that had passed over with such fury, that they could hardly stand their ground, and were in the most imminent danger, when Cortes, Alverado, Olid and Tapia, arriving with the horse and some Tlascalans, charged the enemy in the rear, with such impetuosity, that they were immediately disordered, routed, and pursued to the mountains with great slaughter.

Early the next morning the army marched towards Suchilmico. The first day they passed through a defile three leagues long, and entered a dry and barren country, where the soldiers suffered severely from the want of water; the fatigue of the march, and the heat of the sun, increasing their thirst to such a degree, that the shade of a forest they entered afforded them little relief. Here, however, they met with many dwellings, forsaken by the inhabitants, in which they passed the night, and enjoyed the rest and refreshment they so much wanted. At day-break they proceeded on their march, and soon perceived the Mexicans draw up

in a plain, in advance of Suchilmico; a large and rapid river ran in their front, the bank was thickly lined by them, and their main body was disposed for the defence of a narrow wooden bridge, which was the only pass by which the Spaniards could cross. Cortes extended the troops of his allies along the bank of the river, and while both sides made some discharges at each other with little effect, he commanded the Spaniards to take the bridge that was between them; but they met with such an obstinate resistance, that they were twice repulsed. However, returning the third time to the charge, they gained the pass, which so discouraged the Mexicans, that they fled in great disorder.

The Spaniards instantly formed upon the ground the Mexicans had quitted, and being joined by several bodies of the allies, who had swam over the river, advanced towards the enemy, who had halted near the city. The Spaniards, by a vigorous attack, drove them into the town with great slaughter, and entered it with the fugitives. Cortes then leaving a body of reserve outside of the town, ordered some companies to force the barricadoes of the principal avennes on the right and left, and advanced to the principal one, where the enemy had the greatest force. This he with some difficulty surmounted, when carried away by his ardour, he rashly rushed into the midst of a multitude of the enemy. For some time he resisted the efforts of the Mexicans, who wished to convey him alive to their emperor; but his horse, spent with fatigue, falling under him, he was instantly seized. At this instant Christoval de Olea, a common soldier of distinguished bravery, at the head of some of the Tlascalans, rushed forward to his relief; and cutting their way

through the enemy, killed those who had Cortes prisoner, and set him at liberty. The troops without the gates were in the meanwhile attacked by a numerous body of Mexicans, who fought for some time with great obstinacy, but were finally repulsed, with considerable loss. Those who defended the city, unable longer to resist the vigorous attacks of the Spaniards and their allies, leisurely evacuated it.

The object of the expedition being now accomplished, by weakening the force of the enemy, and taking a view of this city, after a stay of four days, Cortes retired to Tezeuco.

CHAP. XIV.

The brigantines got ready for sailing on the lake. A plot to assassinate the general and his principal officers discovered. Xicotencal leaves Cortes to return home, but is pursued and killed. The brigantines launched upon the lake. An attack made upon the three causeways at once, in which the Spaniards are seasonably relieved by the brigantines; these clear the lake of the Mexicans, who afterwards invent several stratagems to destroy the Spaniards.

THE brigantines were now in a condition to be launched, great quantities of arms were made for the Indians, an exact account taken of the stores in the magazines, and all the artillery was proved; the day was appointed for the confederate caciques to appear with their troops, and particular care was taken to bring provisions continually to the place of arms, partly for sale, and partly to discharge the obligations the confederates were under. But whilst Cortes had his thoughts employed in these affairs, a new accident happened, which gave him much

trouble, tried his valour, and was a convincing proof of his judgment.

A Spaniard, who had been long in the service, came to him full of concern, and desired to speak with him in private; when that was granted, he informed him, that, during his absence, a conspiracy had been formed against his life, and those of his friends. The chief contriver of this treacherous design was a private soldier, named Antonio de Villafana, who, disliking the enterprize against Mexico, blamed the general for his pursuit of that conquest, accusing him of obstinacy and rashness. Finding that his fellow soldiers listened to his insinuations, he expressed a desire of relinquishing the enterprise, and returning to Cuba: but as it was impossible to do this without the consent of Cortes, he, after having sufficiently sounded his confederates, proposed to them a scheme for assassinating the general, and all his principal officers, except Francisco Verdugo, who had married the sister of Diego Velasquez; and upon him they proposed to confer the chief command, which would give a kind of sanction to the mutiny, and be highly agreeable to the governor of Cuba: but as they knew Verdugo to be a man of honor, they durst not acquaint him with their design. In short, the affair was managed with such dexterity, that the numbers of the conspirators daily increased, and it was at length agreed to feign a packet from Vera Cruz, with letters from Spain, and to give it to the general when he was at table: that they should all go in together under the pretence of hearing the news, and while Cortes was reading the first letter, they were to make use of that opportunity to murder him and all his friends with their daggers.

The general having received this intelligence, went immediately with two alcaids, and some of his captains, to Villafana's quarters, where he found him with three or four of his accomplices; and having put him in irons, he ordered every body to retire, while he examined him in private. He then took out of the wretch's bosom a paper, signed by all the conspirators, in which he found some names that greatly increased his concern; but concealing the paper from his friends, he ordered the soldiers, who were found with Villafana, to be put into another prison, and then withdrew, directing the officers of justice to proceed in his trial with all possible dispatch, without taking notice of any of his accomplices; and Villafana being condemned to die, was the next morning seen hanging at the window of his own lodging, so that his guilt and punishment were made public at the same time. This being no time to satisfy justice with the lives of so many persons, Cortes pretended that Villafana had swallowed a paper, which he believed contained the names of the conspirators; and then assembling his captains and soldiers, gave them a summary account of the design against his life, and the lives of many present; said that he thought himself happy, in not knowing Villafana's accomplices; and intreated his friends to enquire whether the Spaniards had any complaint to make against his proceedings, because he was above all things desirous to correct his own faults. At the same time he ordered the soldiers, who had been taken with Villafana, to be set at liberty, and behaved to the rest of the conspirators as usual; so that thinking him ignorant of their crime, they afterwards served him with extraordinary circumspection, in

order to avert any suspicion of their fidelity. He however seized this opportunity of having twelve men, commanded by an officer, to guard his person.

Cortes was a few days after perplexed with another affair that gave him no small disturbance. Xicotencal, having conceived some disgust at Cortes, resolved to leave the army, and assembling some companies of Tlascalans who were attached to his interest, retired in the night, of which Cortes being informed, sent after him some Indian chiefs of Tezeuco, to persuade him to return; but Xicotencal's answer so provoked the general, that he dispatched three companies of Spaniards, with an additional force of Indians, who had orders to take him prisoner, or to kill him in case of resistance. As he defended himself to the last, it was impracticable to take him alive, and he no sooner fell than his soldiers, who fought with reluctance, readily submitted, and returned to Tezeuco, leaving their general hanging on a tree.

The brigantines being now ready, Cortes ordered them to be launched and rigged, and then reviewed the Spaniards, who amounted to 900 men, near 200 of whom used fire-arms and cross-bows, the rest were armed with swords, bucklers and lances. He had also 86 horse, and 18 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. He then ordered on board each vessel, 20 Spaniards, under the command of a captain, with twelve rowers and one piece of artillery.

Cortes now resolving to take possession of the three principal causeways, entrusted the expedition of Tacuba to Alverado, who had 150 Spanish foot, 30 horse, 30,000 Tlascalans, and two pieces of cannon; the attack of the causeway called Izta-

palapa, was committed to Sandoval, who commanded 150 Spaniards, 24 horse, two pieces of artillery, and all the troops of Chalco, Cholula and Guacocingo, amounting to above 40,000 men; and the attempt upon Cuyocan, another of them, was assigned to de Olid, with 160 Spaniards, two pieces of cannon, and 30,000 confederate Indians.

Alverado and Olid marched together as far as Tacuba, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, as were all the towns upon the lake, who were gone to defend Mexico. They had notice that the Mexicans had formed a considerable body within half a league of the city, to cover the aqueducts that supplied it with fresh water. Upon this intelligence they marched thither, and after a very obstinate battle, drove the enemy from their post, broke the aqueducts, and by this means effectually cut off their water.

Olid then marched to Cuyocan, the other causeway; and Cortes, having allowed Sandoval time to reach Iztapalapa, embarked with the cacique of Tezeuco and his brother, and took upon himself the command of the lake, after having left a sufficient number of troops to cover his place of arms, and secure a communication with his quarters. His thirteen brigantines being drawn up in a line, adorned with flags and streamers, he approached Mexico, and then sailing back, observed a pretty large castle, situated upon a small island, which the enemy thought impregnable. Cortes landed here with 150 Spaniards, and drove the enemy, who made a brave defence, into the castle, where they were so crowded, that having no room to manage their arms, they were obliged to surrender. The Spaniards then returned to their brigantines,

in order to steer towards Iztapalapa, to assist Sandoval, when they observed a fleet of 4000 canoes assembling on the lake. Cortes drew up his vessels in the form of a half-moon, and advanced towards the canoes, when a breeze of wind suddenly springing up, they began the attack at a distance with the artillery, and then making use of their sails, ran in among the canoes with such force as to overset all that stood in their way, while their fire-arms and cross-bows made a terrible slaughter. The nobles of Mexico, who had manned 500 canoes in the front, made some opposition; but most of these being destroyed, the rest were thrown into such confusion, that they ran foul of each other, so that the greatest part of them overset, when the brigantines pursuing the miserable remains of this fleet with their cannon shot, forced them to take shelter in the canals of the city of Mexico.

Cortes passed the night near Tezeuco, and in the morning was preparing to sail for Iztapalapa, when he discovered a great number of canoes making towards Cuyocan, and following them found de Olid engaged on the causeway with the enemy, and, at the same time, with the canoes on each side, against each of whom being obliged to make a front, he was hardly able to keep the ground he had gained. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges on the causeways towards the city, and mounting on them in ranks, charged from the top. The Spaniards were obliged to clear those places of defence with their cross-bows, while fascines were brought to fill the ditch; and a piece of artillery being brought up, soon cleared the passages. De Olid had just made himself master of the first ditch when the canoes arrived; but at the sight of

the brigantines all the Mexicans fled with precipitation: and the canoes on the other side, as soon as three of the brigantines had got through the passage, retired in disorder towards the city.

The troops passed the night upon the causeway, and in the morning proceeded with little or no opposition, until they approached the last bridge, which they found fortified with strong works, and the trenches that were cut in the streets were defended by a vast multitude of people. The artillery from the brigantines made a dreadful slaughter of them, while de Olid having ruined the fortification of the causeway, and filled up the ditch, charged the Mexicans who had defended them; and Cortes landing with thirty Spaniards, gave such life to the attack, that the enemy quickly retreated, and the chief street of Mexico was gained. The fugitives, however, took possession of a temple near the entrance of the city, and from this post they defied the Spaniards; but Cortes ordering three or four pieces of cannon to be landed, they were soon made sensible of their danger, and all that part of the city was forsaken: the next day Cortes retired along the causeway to Cuyocan, guarded on each side by his brigantines, so that the enemy durst not disturb his march.

Cortes then proceeded to Iztapalapa, where he found Sandoval reduced to the last extremity. He had taken possession of the buildings on the land, and had made great havoc among those who approached in their canoes; he had demolished some houses, and overthrown two or three reinforcements from Mexico, sent to attack him by land; and the Indians having abandoned a large building, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his quar-

ters. This he effected, by forming a passage with fascines, but he had no sooner entered the house with some of his people, than a great number of canoes which had lain in ambush, advanced with a multitude of Mexicans, who threw themselves into the water, and, dragging away the fascines, cut off his retreat, by which means he was besieged on all sides, while the enemy discharged their arrows at him and his men, from all the terraces and windows of the neighbouring houses. He was in this situation when Cortes arrived, who observing the vast number of canoes in the water-streets, advanced with all possible speed, and played his artillery with such success, that the enemy fled in great confusion. The loss of the Mexicans, upon this occasion, was very great.

Cortes now resolved to quit the post he was in, and to dispatch Sandoval to Tapesuquilla, where there was another causeway, the possession whereof would effectually cut off the enemy's provisions, of which they already began to be in want. Sandoval advancing, and finding the place forsaken, lodged himself in it without resistance. The general then went to Tacuba, to view the situation of Alverado, who had met with various success: for though the place was deserted at his approach, he had, like De Olid, been obliged to beat down works, and to fill up ditches.

Cortes now resolved to put a stop to all operations by land, until he had made himself master of the lake; for this purpose he prevailed on the allied towns to send a vast number of canoes, manned by the most expert Indians. These and the brigantines sailing continually about the lake, and along the three causeways, enabled the Spaniards to

seize many canoes laden with provisions, which reduced the besieged to great distress.

The Mexicans now sent canoes to clear the ditches, and made sallies by night, only to alarm their enemies, and fatigue them by want of sleep, that they might afterwards attack them with advantage with fresh troops. They also built large piraguas, strengthened with planks, in which they sheltered themselves from the shot in time of engagement. In these they came out in the night, and lay in ambush behind a grove of reeds in the lake, which effectually concealed them from view. Designing also to draw the brigantines thither, that cruised about the lake by two at a time, they provided three or four canoes laden with provisions, for a lure, and fixed a considerable number of large stakes in the water, to destroy or encumber the brigantines.

The next day, as they expected, two of the brigantines, that attended Sandoval, began their cruize, when the Mexicans sent out their canoes, which as soon as they were seen, pretended to fly and retire among the reeds; the brigantines immediately giving chace, fell in among the stakes, where they were so embarrassed, that they could neither move forward nor backward. At the same instant the piraguas came out, and attacked them on all sides with such fury, that the Spaniards must have inevitably perished, had not some expert swimmers cut away the stakes. The fire of the brigantines now became so destructive, that most of the piraguas were sunk; but this success was not obtained, until the brigantines had received considerable damage, several of the Spaniards wounded, and all very much fatigued. Captain Juan Portillo, to whose inde-

fatigable bravery this success was chiefly owing, was killed; and Captain Pedro de Barba received several wounds, of which he died three days after. Both these losses Cortes greatly lamented, and particularly that of Pedro de Barba, for in him he lost a friend, ever steady in all turns of fortune, and a brave soldier.

CHAP. XV.

Cortes offers peace to the emperor, which his priests prevent him accepting. A general attack upon Mexico, in which, after an obstinate engagement, the Spaniards are defeated. The attack renewed, a lodgment formed, and the emperor compelled to retire to the farthest part of the city. Guatimozin and his consort are seized in an attempt to escape. The whole empire of Mexico acknowledges their subjection to Spain. Cortes extends his conquest to the South Sea, rebuilds Mexico, and dies in Spain.

CORTES being informed that the want of provisions began to excite murmurs among the besieged, exerted his utmost diligence in cutting off all relief from the city; and also hoping, that his distressed situation would induce Guatimozin to come to an accommodation, sent two Mexican noblemen, who had been taken prisoners, to the emperor of Mexico, with overtures of peace upon very advantageous conditions; offering to leave him in full possession of his empire, provided he would acknowledge the sovereign dominion of the king of Spain. This proposal Guatimozing received less haughtily than usual, and assembled his principal officers, together with the priests, whose opinions were principally considered in all public affairs. He laid before them the miserable

condition to which the city was reduced; the numbers they had lost; the complaints of the people, and the destruction of their habitations; and then desired their advice, expressing as much inclination to peace as was sufficient for their flattery or respect to second him. This so far succeeded, that all his officers and ministers concluded immediately to receive the overtures towards an accommodation proposed by Cortes, leaving to further consideration such particular conditions as would be most for the interest of the state. But the priests passionately opposed all manner of treaty; asserting, that they had received from their gods, certain assurances of victory over their enemies. This opposition of the priests being sanctioned by the appearance of zeal for religion, caused a change in the minds of the officers, and all unanimously agreed to continue the war. In this determination, Guatimozin also concurred, and declared, that he would put to death the first man, who should presume again to mention peace, whatever distress the city should be reduced to, without excepting even the priests themselves, who were most of all obliged to support the oracles of their gods.

Cortes was no sooner informed of this, than he resolved to carry fire and sword into the heart of the city; and for that purpose sent orders to the commanders, to whom the attacks of Tacuba and Tapeaquilla were entrusted, to press the enemy vigorously, while he himself, at the head of the troops commanded by De Olid, would charge the enemy by the causeway of Cuyocan. The obstacles the enemy opposed were soon removed; and the troops advanced without any considerable opposition to the last bridge, where the besieged had

broke down part of the causeway, to enlarge the ditch; on the opposite bank they had raised a fortification, covered with planks, which the fire of the artillery soon demolished. The enemy then retired into the city, and left the shore free. The infantry, cavalry and artillery, were immediately landed, and ordered to advance; while Julian de Alderete, with a company of Spaniards, was posted on the ditch, with directions to fill it up. But Alderete, considering the duty assigned to him to be unimportant and degrading, when the action commenced, abandoned the ditch, and joined in the battle. The Mexicans withstood the charge of the Spaniards with great resolution, disputing every inch of ground, and severely annoyed their assailants, with darts and arrows from the houses. The action was warmly contested for some time, until Guatimozin, perceiving the ditch in the rear of the Spaniards unguarded, ordered a retreat, at the same time pushing forward a considerable body on the flanks of the Spaniards, in order to gain the ditch. Cortes having discovered these movements, commenced a hasty retreat, and set fire to several of the houses, to impede the advance of the enemy, and prevent their annoying him on a renewal of the attack. The retreat was scarcely commenced, when the Spaniards were furiously attacked, in front, flank and rear, by an incredible number of chosen warriors, who fought with such intrepidity, that they disregarded both the fire-arms and crossbows. The cavalry now endeavoured to put a stop to the enemy, and Cortes attempted to form the troops into battalions; but this was impossible: for the confederates, being in the front, were the first who arrived at the ditch, and had precipitated

themselves into it with such confusion, that most of them were drowned, or killed by the Mexicans. The general was now left with his own soldiers, to resist the furious assaults of an enraged enemy; his horse was killed under him, and captain Francisco Guzman, who alighted to give him his, was taken prisoner. At length, by means of the brigantines, Cortes effected his retreat, though with considerable loss; for many of the Spaniards were killed, almost all were wounded, and forty were taken prisoners; the loss of the confederates was very severe, of the Tlascalans alone 1000 being killed; the artillery also, were unavoidably left behind.

The combined attacks of Sandoval and Alverado had a similar issue; they gained the bridges, forced the streets, and destroyed several houses, but were so vigorously attacked by the Mexicans, that they were compelled to retreat precipitately, with considerable loss.

These disasters obliged Cortes to suspend offensive operations, and content himself with blocking up the place more closely, and straightening the enemy in their provisions; bestowing the utmost attention to the recovery of the wounded, whose numbers were very considerable.

The Mexicans celebrated this victory with great rejoicings, which were visible from the Spanish quarters; and the unfortunate Spaniards were miserably sacrificed to their horrible idols. A dismal spectacle, which caused Cortes and his companions to shed tears.

The advantages they had gained, joined to the satisfaction of having appeased their god of war, by the sacrifice of so many Spaniards, so elevated

the Mexicans, that, a little before break of day, they advanced by the three causeways, to beat up the quarters, to set fire to the brigantines, and to complete the destruction of their assailants, who, they reasonably concluded, were worn out with fatigue. Their preparations for the attack, however, were so undisguised, that the Spaniards were well prepared to receive them; and the assault of this fierce but undisciplined multitude was quickly repulsed, by the fire of the brigantines, and of some pieces of artillery mounted at the Spanish lodgments, which played upon the causeways.

Disappointed in this attack, Guatimozin had recourse to various artifices, in order to detach the natives from the support of the Spaniards. He asserted that Cortes had been killed in his retreat; thereby giving the natives hopes, that they should be shortly delivered from their oppressors: he sent the heads of the sacrificed Spaniards to all the neighbouring towns, that those tokens of his victory might bring those who had fallen off from him back to their obedience; and lastly, he reported, that their supreme deity had informed him, in an intelligible voice, that the war should be at an end in eight days; and that all should infallibly perish, who neglected this advice. The confederates, already disheartened by the death of so many Spaniards, and the dreadful slaughter of their own troops, easily acquiesced in the infallibility of these threats; for the oracles of that idol were in great reputation among the most distant nations. The greatest part of the confederates, during the first two or three nights, abandoned their quarters; and the contagion became so universal, that many of the Tlascalans and Tezeucans departed in the

same disorder; either that they really feared the oracle, or were led away by the example of those who did.

This sudden and unexpected defection placed the Spaniards in a most critical situation, and caused Cortes nearly to despair of ultimate success; but the allies soon recovered from their fright, a considerable reinforcement arrived from Tlascala, and several nations, that had hitherto continued neuter, sensible of the distress of Mexico, declared for the Spaniards. Of these the most considerable was the Otomies, a fierce and savage race, who preserved their liberty amongst woods and mountains, and had hitherto kept themselves free from the subjection of the Mexican empire, without any other fortification than the misery and sterility of their country, which afforded no temptation to a conqueror. Thus Cortes once more found himself at the head of an army of upwards of two hundred thousand men.

The Mexicans in the mean time were not idle; they made frequent sallies, beating up the Spanish quarters both by day and night, though they were always repulsed with considerable loss. Cortes, being sensible of the fickleness of his allies, and of the enfeebled state of the Mexicans, deemed it necessary to resume offensive operations immediately; but first he assembled his captains, in order to receive their opinion. He represented to them the little expectation he had, that want would induce the besieged to surrender, because of the implacable hatred they bore to the Spaniards; that if they continued in a state of inaction, there was a danger of the allies again deserting them; for being always eager to engage, and not capable of

conceiving that the siege was a real war, this idleness would render them as dangerous to their friends, as in battle they were formidable to their enemies. The council unanimously concurred in these sentiments; and Cortes prepared to carry this determination into execution. The Spaniards, after leaving sufficient to occupy the quarters, were divided into three bodies, to each of which a considerable number of the natives were attached; the command of one was entrusted to Pedro de Alverado; of another to Gonzalo de Sandoval; and the third, commanded by Christoval de Olid, was led by Cortes himself. Pursuant to the plan now adopted, these commanders were to penetrate, by different avenues, to the square called Tlateculco, there to form a junction, and act according as circumstances should require.

The preparations for this important enterprise being completed, at the dawn of the appointed day, the attack commenced from the different quarters; that, led on by Alverado, from Tacuba; that by Sandoval, from Tapeaquilla; and that, commanded by Cortes, from Cuyocan. They easily gained the ruined streets, which were weakly defended by the enemy, whose chief dependance was upon the tops of those where the houses were well manned. All that the Spaniards attempted the first day was, to effect a lodgment; each body fortifying their quarters with the ruins of the houses.

This new method of proceeding filled the Mexicans with consternation, and entirely disconcerted all their measures. The chief men instantly repaired to Guatimozin's palace; and, by their pressing intreaties, prevailed on him to retire to a more distant part of the city. Councils were immediately

held, and the opinions were various and different; being either bold and resolute, or timorous and dejected, according as the understanding followed the dictates of the heart. Some were of opinion, that the sovereign, for the security of his royal person, should be immediately conveyed to a place of greater security; others were for fortifying that part of the city where the court then was; while others proposed, that the first step they took should be, to dislodge the enemy from the posts they had possessed themselves of. Guatimozin inclined to this advice; and then, rejecting all thoughts of abandoning Mexico, declared, that he was determined to share the fate of his people; and that moment gave orders, that preparation should be made to attack the enemy in their quarters by daybreak, with all his forces. For this purpose, the chiefs, with all possible expedition, assembled all their troops, which were divided into three bodies, with the design of exerting their last strength, in this definitive effort, to the total destruction of the Spaniards. Soon after the dawning of the morning, the enemy presented themselves within sight of the three lodgments; but the artillery, which enfiladed the avenues, made such a terrible slaughter of the van-guard, that they durst not proceed; the Spaniards then rushed forward, and soon routed and dispersed them; obtaining, by this means, better quarters for the ensuing night. The advance of the Spaniards continued to be impeded by obstacles almost insurmountable; being compelled to destroy houses, level works, and fill up the ditches that were cut across every street. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the three bodies of Spaniards, in less than four days, came in sight of the prin-

cipal square of the city, where it was concerted they should meet. Alverado arrived first at this spacious square, which was called Tlateculco, where he found the enemy endeavouring to make a stand; but he attacked them with such gallantry, that they abandoned the ground, and retired in great confusion to the streets on the opposite side. Observing at a small distance a very large temple, the towers of which were possessed by the enemy, he immediately detached some companies to drive them from thence, in order to secure his rear, which was effected with very little opposition. He was soon after joined by Cortes and Olid, who advanced by a different avenue, driving a confused throng of Mexicans before them into the square; who falling in upon the battalion which Alverado had drawn up in order of battle, and being attacked on every side, were most of them cut to pieces. The same miserable fate attended those who were driven into the square by the third division, under the command of Sandoval.

The enemy, perceiving that the whole force of the Spaniards was united, ran with the utmost precipitation to defend the person of their prince; whereby the Spanish general had an opportunity of lodging his troops to the best advantage, without any opposition or interruption. The attention of Cortes was then directed to the removal of the dead; and several companies of the confederate Indians were immediately employed in this necessary duty. During the night, several parties of the Mexicans, more than half dead with famine, came to the Spanish quarters, imploring food in the most submissive manner, which the Spaniards readily supplied them with.

The next morning all the streets in the possession of the enemy were filled with armed men, in order to cover those who were raising a kind of fortification. Cortes, perceiving that they did not attempt hostilities, nor attempt to provoke him by their usual insults, suspended the attack which he had determined, being inclined once more to offer them peace; supposing that they might be now disposed to come to an accommodation; or, at least, that they would be convinced, that he did not thirst after their destruction; since he proffered them favourable conditions, at a juncture when his whole power was united in the very heart of the city, the greatest part whereof was already in his possession. The message was carried by three or four of the principal prisoners; and the multitudes that defended the streets, being shortly after withdrawn, Cortes concluded that his pacific overtures were favourably received. The ensuing morning the Spaniards advanced towards the enemy, who manifested an inclination to peace; for they neither sounded their warlike instruments, nor made the accustomed outcries. The general drew back, and returned several times with the Spaniards, without attempting to molest or provoke them. The care which they took to disguise their distress, and conceal the necessities under which they laboured, was very remarkable: the armed men, on the works, were supplied with provisions in view of the Spaniards; among whom they flung cakes of maize; thereby intimating, that it was not the want of subsistence prevented them from continuing the war.

During this suspension of arms, Guatimozin held several councils, to deliberate on the overtures of

peace which had been made him; when the majority were for agreeing to the treaty, being sensible of the miserable condition to which they were reduced; while others were for continuing the war; and these being joined by the priests, whose opinions were considered by those deluded people as the immediate and absolute commands of their false deities, it was determined to prosecute it. The emperor immediately gave orders, that the piraguas and canoes should retire to a sort of bay, in order to secure his retreat, in case he should be driven to extremities. This order was instantly put in execution, and an incredible number of those vessels made to the bay, with no more people in them than were just necessary to navigate them. Cortes immediately suspected their design, and therefore appointed Sandoval commander in chief of all the brigantines, with orders to surround the bay at a distance, and keep a strict watch upon the motions of the enemy.

Having taken these steps, Cortes advanced with his troops, to further the progress of peace by the appearance of war. On the appearance of the vanguard, the Mexicans proclaimed the renewal of hostilities with their warlike cries and menaces; but the first discharges of the artillery made such terrible havock in their defences, that a parley was demanded. They were then given to understand, that whoever had any proposals to offer from their prince might approach; upon which three or four of the Mexicans, who by their apparel appeared to be persons of some note, advanced; and having first made their accustomed humiliations, told Cortes, that their lord and sovereign had sent them to hear what proposals the captain of the Spaniards had to

make, in order to adjust an amicable accommodation. Cortes replied, that his real and only view was peace; and, that notwithstanding he had it in his power to give laws to those who had so long refused to hearken to reason, yet he once more offered them peace, and was ready to renew the treaty which they had broken: but that affairs of this nature were difficult to be adjusted by third persons, wherefore it was requisite that their prince should appear in person; assuring them, that he was disposed to agree to every thing, that was not repugnant or injurious to the superior authority of his own sovereign; with which view he promised, not only that all hostilities should cease on his part, but that he would take particular care, that his royal person should be in the greatest security; and that he should be treated with all the deference and respect due to the Mexican emperor. With this answer the deputies retired, and the same evening returned with a message, that the emperor would come the next day, to conclude a treaty; but the meeting was postponed, day after day, under various pretences.

The day having arrived, which was the utmost period allowed by Cortes, Sandoval discovered, at the dawn of the morning, great multitudes embarking on board the canoes in the bay. Of this movement he sent immediate notice to Cortes, collected the brigantines, and advanced towards the enemy. At the same time the canoes pushed forward, and attacked the brigantines with great fury, regardless of the slaughter made among them by the artillery. In the hottest part of the engagement, Sandoval observed six or seven piraguas rowing with the utmost speed from the farthest part of the bay; upon

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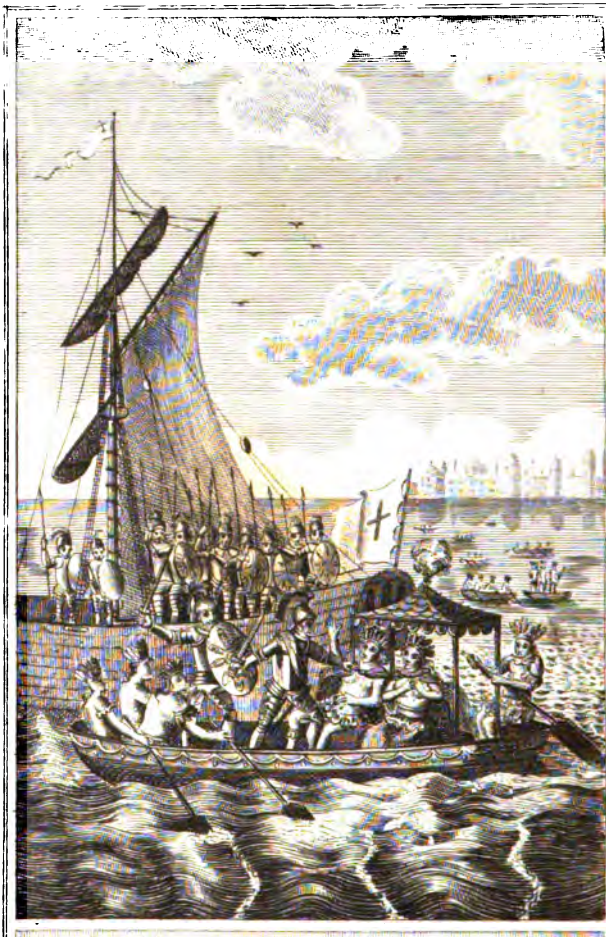

The Emperor Guatimozin & the Empress seize on board a Piragua, by Sandoval.

Maguire Sc.

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which he immediately ordered a swift-sailing brigantine, commanded by Gracia de Holguin, in chace, with directions to take them with as little damage as possible. The captain soon came up with the foremost piragua, which seemed to command the rest, when the Mexicans instantly ceased rowing, and desired him not to fire, because the emperor was on board. The captain, with other Spaniards, immediately leaped into the piragua, to secure their prize. Upon which Guatimozin said, "I am your prisoner, and ready to go whither you think fit to conduct me. All the favour I have to ask is, that some regard may be paid to the honor of the empress my consort, and to her female attendants." Guatimozin then passing into the brigantine, gave his hand to that princess to help her up the side. The captain had no sooner made Guatimozin prisoner, than he dispatched an account of it to Cortes, and all military operations ceased soon after.*

Cortes sent two companies of Spaniards to the landing-place, to guard the royal prisoners, whom he received with great respect, which the emperor returned in the same manner. On their arrival at the Spanish quarters, Guatimozin and his empress went in first; when Cortes, to alleviate their sorrow, told him, that he was prisoner to the most powerful monarch in the universe, from whose clemency he might hope to regain, not only his liberty, but even his empire, and that till the pleasure of his sovereign should be known, he should be treated with all the respect due to the emperor of Mexico.

* This great event happened on the 13th of August, 1521, and from thence has been dated the dominion of the Spaniards over the Mexican empire.

This prince was about twenty-four years of age, so brave, that his valour had qualified him to ascend the throne. His person was extremely well proportioned, tall, yet robust; and his complexion so fair, that, among those of his own nation, he seemed to be of a different race. His countenance, habituated to command respect, discovered a haughty mind; and, even amidst his misfortunes, he preserved the majesty of his air. The empress, who was niece to the emperor Montezuma, was about the same age; the gracefulness of her carriage, and the vivacity of her mien, attracted every eye; but her beauty was rather manly and majestic, than delicate.

Cortes, thinking it was still necessary to reduce that part of the city, which was still in the possession of the enemy, committed the care of the prisoners to Sandoval, and went out to give orders for another attack. But Guatimozin, suspecting the cause of his abrupt departure, desired to speak with him; and, upon his return, conjured him to spare his unhappy subjects, who would surrender peaceably, as soon as they were informed of his captivity. He therefore entreated Cortes to allow one of his ministers to accompany him, and command the Mexicans, in the name of their prince, to obey the Spanish general. With this request he willingly complied; and the order was no sooner communicated, than the natives threw down their arms and submitted.

The Spanish troops no sooner took possession of the places evacuated by the Mexicans, than they found themselves surrounded with objects of horror. A vast number of miserable wretches, sick and wounded, were lying calling upon death to release

them from their tortures; and whole houses and courts were filled with the bodies of persons of distinction, who had been slain in battle, and were kept until their obsequies could be performed. From these places proceeded a stench, that threatened the air with infection, and obliged Cortes to take immediate care to prevent a pestilence, by giving orders for interring the bodies. While this necessary office was performing, he retired with his prisoners to Cuyocan, after having assigned quarters to Alverado and Sandoval, who superintended the cleansing of Mexico, and this disagreeable duty being in a few days performed, he returned again to the city.

The respect with which the emperor Guatimozin was treated, did not last long; for the soldiers remembering the vast quantities of gold they had formerly seen in Montezuma's possession, demanded an account of what was become of it. Cortes protesting his ignorance, they asserted that he had secretly secured it for his own use; hence they grew furious and insolent, in which disposition they were encouraged by Julian de Alderete, the king's treasurer, who had great authority, was nephew to the bishop of Burgos, and inclined to do Cortes all the mischief in his power. Alderete being unable to obtain an account of these treasures, demanded that the emperor and his first minister should be put into his hands, in order to be examined about them, which Cortes, in his present circumstances, did not think proper to refuse.

This inhuman monster, according to some authors, caused them to be immediately put upon the rack; but as others, with greater truth, affirm, had them extended upon burning coals. When they were

both in this situation, the minister casting his eyes upon the emperor, cried out violently, upon which Guatimozin, with great composure, said, 'Do you think I lie here upon roses?' This expression had such an effect on him, that he expired without uttering any further complaint: but Cortes hearing his first cries, burst into the apartment, and released the emperor before it was too late; on which occasion the soldiers themselves approved his conduct, and blamed the treasurer's barbarity. No discovery was, however, made by this instance of cruelty. They then searched all parts of the lake to no purpose, ransacked the temples, in which they found but little gold, and tore to pieces the tombs, in which a small quantity was found, which Cortes, in order to pacify them, divided amongst them.

Those provinces of the Mexican empire that were nearest to the capital immediately submitted, and Cortes having received intelligence of the kingdom of Mechoacan, which lay to the westward of Mexico, he sent Montano with three other Spaniards as ambassadors to the king, who at first gave them an indifferent reception, but afterwards treated them with great magnificence, and even went in person to see Cortes, who soon after dispatched Christophal de Olid with an army to take possession of that country, which he accordingly did, and forced the king to fly for shelter to the mountains.

Cortes upon this great flow of success, lost that humanity and virtue by which he had before distinguished himself, discovering the utmost haughtiness and cruelty. He erected forts, and sent Sandoval to subdue the countries near Tabasce and

Tecountepee on the North Sea, while he sent De Alverado with a body of Spaniards and confederate Indians, to take possession of the countries bordering upon the vale of Guaxaco, to the eastward of Mexico.

While Cortes was thus employed in reducing an amazing extent of country to the obedience of Charles V., emperor and king of Spain, Christoval de Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz, with a commission from that prince, to command all the new conquests; but he was so threatened and terrified by the garrison, that he was glad to make his escape, and leave the general in possession of Mexico.

Cortes now marched in person into the province of Panuco, which he not only reduced to subjection, but had the inhumanity, in violation of the laws of nature and of nations, to divide the country and all the Indian inhabitants amongst the officers and soldiers, who treated them as slaves; and this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily submitted to him, or were compelled to it by force. He sent such rich presents to the emperor, that notwithstanding his cruelty, he was declared captain-general and governor of New Spain, and the governors of Hispaniola and Cuba were commanded to send him supplies, and to give him all possible assistance.

Cortes now finding himself established in his command, set about re-building the city of Mexico; assigned places for erecting churches and public edifices; laid out market-places; divided the best part of the ground among the Spaniards, and the rest among the natives.

All his conquests could not, however, procure him a peaceable establishment. He was in danger

from the intrigues of the Indians, who, from a love of liberty, were desirous of recovering their country, and driving out, or extirpating the Spaniards; and therefore, in 1527, he hanged the emperor Guatimozin and two other Indian princes, whom he had detected in a conspiracy against him. Sometimes he was exposed to danger by his own countrymen: Christoval de Olid, who had behaved so gallantly in the war against the Mexicans, revolted from him, but was soon taken off by a violent death. Several conspiracies were formed to murder him; he had also many enemies in Spain, who took such pains to prejudice the emperor Charles V. against him, that he found it necessary to return thither, in order to justify his conduct.

Accordingly in 1528 he undertook that voyage, and was received by Charles V. with great respect: that prince gave him the whole vale of Atrisco, with the towns and villages upon it; conferred on him the title of Marquis of the Vale of Guaxaca; and, to complete his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage.

The next year he returned to Mexico with his lady, and being afterwards involved in some disputes with the viceroy of Mexico, in the year 1542 made a second voyage to Spain, where he died in a village near Seville, called Castilleja de la Cuesta, on the 2d of December, 1554, in the sixty-third year of his age, after which his corpse, by his own direction, was carried to New Spain.

THE

DISCOVERY OF GOLDEN CASTILE.

CHAP. I.

Vasquez Nunez de Balboa solicits succours from the court of Spain; enters into an alliance with the cacique Careta; obtains the first intelligence of the South Seas, and of the riches of Peru; returns to Santa Maria, and resolves to attempt the discovery of Peru.

VASQUEZ Nunez de Balboa, having got the command in the manner already related in our account of the Discoveries from the Death of Columbus to Cortes's Expedition, immediately contrived to make the best use of the great power he had obtained, in order to extend the discoveries, and acquire more gold, which he foresaw would prove the only effectual means of securing him in the possession of the government, at which he had so strangely arrived.

His first care was to secure those supplies, of which the colony was in want; and for this purpose he sent his friend Valdivia to Hispaniola, to prevail on the governor and council to furnish him and his people with what necessaries they wanted; and had the greater hopes of success, as the admiral, Diego Columbus, was then there, who he was sensible was disposed to contribute all in his power to promote the king's service. He next persuaded

the colony to send a person directly to Spain, to inform the court of their situation, and of the great probability there was of their being able to make very advantageous discoveries and conquests; and for this important employment he recommended Zamudio, his colleague in the magistracy; by which means he secured the sole authority to himself, and at the same time committed the care of his concerns to one whose interests were the same as his own, since he had been as deeply engaged in bringing about the revolution as himself; and as there was a small ship belonging to the colony in port, he caused it to be fitted out as well as possible, in order to carry away the two deputies, and his old antagonist Enciso. But as the last-mentioned person might represent his proceedings in a light that would be far from being to his advantage, he gave Valdivia a considerable quantity of gold, which he desired him to present to the king's treasurer-general at St. Domingo, who had a great interest with the Spanish ministry.

At this time many Indians resorted to Darien, to observe whether the Spaniards were going away, and what were their designs: but to conceal these motives they carried Indian wheat and other provisions, to exchange for beads, knives, and other things of small value, endeavouring to persuade them to be gone, by observing that there was much gold, and plenty of provisions, in the province of Coyba, which was at thirty leagues distance. Upon this de Balboa sent Francis Pizarro with six men to discover the country; who having travelled three leagues up the river, were attacked by 400 Indians. under the command of the cacique Zemaco; when after a smart engagement, in which about 100 of

Francis Pizarro, with 60 Spaniards, attacked by 100 Indians.

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the Indians were killed, the rest were put to flight, and the Spaniards returned to Darien; but having left one of their companions behind them, Nunez was so offended, that he ordered Pizarro to march back with a fresh detachment, which he accordingly did, and returned with him to the colony.

Nunez now sent two brigantines for the Spaniards who had been left at Nombre de Dios. These vessels sailing along the coast, reached a port belonging to the cacique of Coyba, where two Spaniards, entirely naked, and painted red, came to them. These and another person had, a year and a half before, made their escape from Nicuessa's ship, to avoid the punishment due for some crime they had committed; and putting themselves into the hands of the cacique Careta, were kindly treated: but not agreeing among themselves, one of them, whose name was Juan Alonzo, dangerously wounded the other; whereupon the cacique, admiring him for his bravery, made him commander of his forces, in a war in which he was then engaged, and would do nothing without his advice. These two men were highly acceptable to those in the brigantines; they related that the country abounded with gold, and that if Nunez would invade it, they should all obtain great riches. Upon this advice it was agreed, that one of them should go to Santa Maria, to inform Nunez of the state of the country, and that the other should stay to be serviceable as occasion should offer.

When the brigantines returned to Santa Maria, Nunez was much pleased with the intelligence they brought of this rich country, and at his having Spanish interpreters, who understood the language of the natives; and having sent back the

brigantines, to bring away the rest of the Spaniards from Nombre de Dios, (as they had been unable to take them all before) he chose 130 of the bravest of his men, and, on the return of the brigantines, set out with a sufficient supply of arms and provisions, in search of the cacique Careta, who lived at thirty leagues distance.

The cacique hearing of his coming, waited for him in his house; and Nunez arriving there, demanded provisions, for his men to carry with them to Darien; but Careta excusing himself, under the pretence of his being at war with a neighbouring cacique, which had prevented his people's sowing, Nunez, by the advice of Juan Alonzo, pretended to turn back by the same way he came; but at midnight returned, and, attacking the town in three places, took the cacique with his two wives and children prisoners; all of whom he sent away to Santa Maria, after having loaded the brigantines with provisions.

Careta, on his arrival at Darien, entreated Nunez not to keep him in captivity; and promised, in return for his liberty, to furnish him with provisions, and to do him all the service in his power: he also offered him one of his daughters, who was very beautiful, for his wife; and he desired assistance against his enemy Ponca, a neighbouring cacique, in order that his own people might have leisure to till and sow the ground.

Nunez gladly accepted of these offers, and taking his daughter, kept her as his mistress, behaving towards her with great affection, which highly pleased the Indians. Careta being now suffered to return, treated Nunez, and eighty men who accompanied him, so well, that they resolved to assist

him in his wars; which Ponca no sooner heard, than he fled to the mountains; and the Spaniards entering his country, seized some provisions, and a considerable quantity of gold.

Careta soon after informed his guests, that he had another neighbour, more powerful than Ponca, whose name, as well as that of his country, was Comagre; that he lived in greater splendor than any other cacique; and that he was very desirous of being acquainted with the Spaniards. As the dominions of this prince were large and fruitful, Careta desired Nunez to pay him a visit, and offered to accompany him.

On their arrival at the palace of Comagre, they found that it was a large wooden building, 150 yards in length, and 80 in breadth, surrounded with a good stone wall. The reception they met with was equally kind and hospitable; Comagre and his sons taking all the pains imaginable to render their stay agreeable, and discovering in their conversation a knowledge and politeness much superior to any of the Indians they had hitherto met with. They were entertained with plenty of provisions, and with different kinds of liquors, of various colours, not much inferior either in strength or flavour to wine; and the cacique and his sons making them some presents of gold and pearls, they had no reason to repent of their journey, or to distrust Careta, who seemed highly pleased with the courteous entertainment they had given his friends,

Comagre's eldest son, being particularly desirous of obliging his guests, caused several pieces of gold, valuable both for their workmanship and fineness, to be brought; and this gold, which weighed about 4000 pieces of eight, with seventy slaves, he gave

to Nunez and Colmenares, who immediately began to weigh it, in order to set apart the fifth for the king, and to divide the rest among themselves; but some of the men quarrelling about the best and largest pieces, the young prince ran to the scales, and threw all the gold upon the ground; saying, that they need not fall out about such a trifle; for if they were so fond of it as to leave their native country, and to disturb the peace of nations to obtain it, he would show them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could wish; but that there must be a greater number of them, as they were to oppose a monarch who defended his dominions with great bravery: that they would first meet with a cacique, who had a great quantity of what they looked upon as wealth, and was six suns, or six days journey, from thence, pointing with his finger towards the South Sea, which, he told them, they would see as soon as they passed certain lands. He added, that there were other nations who had boats with sails and oars, and that beyond that sea they would find an immense quantity of gold, formed into vessels, out of which these people eat and drank. This was the first intimation given them of the extensive country of Peru, whither he offered to accompany them. This discourse was interpreted by the two Spaniards who had fled from Nicuessa, and lived with Careta.

After a short stay in the dominions of Comagre, Nunez returned to his government of Santa Maria, in order to concert measures for carrying on these important discoveries. Valdivia had by this time returned from Hispaniola, with the strongest assurances that Diego Columbus would give him sufficient support. This induced Nunez to send him

over a second time with the same instructions as before; but with fresh proofs of the services he had rendered to the crown, and fresh presents for those whom he imagined most capable of supporting his interest: but the vessel in which Valdivia attempted to sail back to Hispaniola, was unfortunately wrecked in her passage on the coast of Yucatan, and the men with great difficulty got on shore, where they were quickly surrounded and made prisoners by the natives, who cruelly sacrificed them to their idols; two only escaping, one of whom was Aguilor, who was of such great service to Cortes.

Nunez was greatly afflicted at the news of this event, and, to prevent the ill consequences that might arise from it, had some thoughts of going to Spain; but this the colony would not suffer, and he had soon sufficient reason to believe that they judged right; for by the dispatches he received from Zamudio, he was informed, that Enciso had so incensed the court against him, that there was no persuading the ministers, that he was not a villain, who had in the highest degree trampled upon the royal authority.

De Balboa having considered the contents of these letters, plainly saw, that nothing would restore his character in Spain, but making an immediate use of the information he had received, by perfecting the discovery of those countries, which report had described as larger and richer than any the Spaniards had been hitherto acquainted with. This, he concluded, would cover all his past faults, and atone for every irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the colony any of the particulars contained in his dispatches,

he persuaded them to engage in an expedition, as the most likely means of rendering them all rich and happy; upon which they gladly embraced his proposal.

CHAP. II.

Nunez establishes a friendly intercourse with the natives, and takes a formal possession of the South Sea, and its coasts and islands, in behalf of the king of Spain; concludes a peace with the cacique Tumaco, and obtains a great quantity of pearls and diamonds.

NUNEZ de Balboa having resolved to march towards the South Sea, sailed from Santa Maria about the middle of September, 1513, as far as the territories of the cacique Careta, who received him in a very friendly manner. He there left one of his brigantines and a canoe, and advanced towards the mountains belonging to Ponca, attended by a body of Careta's subjects. The cacique Ponca being soon informed of the approach of the Spaniards, concealed himself; when Nunez sent some of the Indians belonging to Careta to assure him, that he had nothing to fear, and that he only desired his friendship; upon which Ponca came to meet him, with a present of gold, to the value of 110 pesos, which was all he had. Nunez being sensible of the necessity of leaving no enemy behind him, received the cacique with much joy, and gave him abundance of beads, hawk's-bells, looking-glasses, and, what these Indians most valued, some iron axes; and then asked him for guides, and men to carry burdens up the mountains.

The cacique readily granted all he desired; and,

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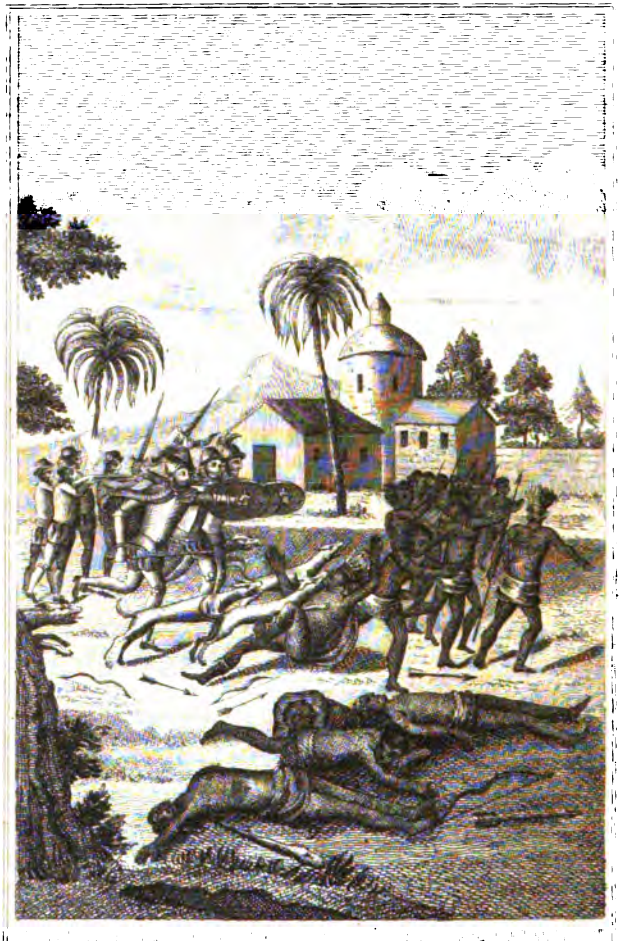

The Cacique Guarequa & his Indians defeated by the Spaniards.

Maguire Sc.

Dublin Published by J. Christie 17, Rafs Lane.

having supplied him with plenty of provisions, the Spaniards marched into the dominions of Quarequa, who was prepared to oppose them, having provided a great number of men armed with bows and arrows, and a kind of slings, with which they threw darts, made of hardened wood. They had also clubs, made of a very hard kind of wood, which they used with both hands. In this manner the Indians met the Spaniards, asking what they came for, and ordering them to proceed no farther; but observing that they paid little regard to what they said, the cacique himself came forward, clothed in cotton, with some of his principal men, all the rest being entirely naked, and immediately attacked the Spaniards with dreadful cries. Nunez instantly ordered his soldiers to discharge their firelocks and crossbows; upon which several of them were killed. The Indians, seeing the fire and hearing the report, concluded that the Spaniards used thunder and lightning, and had a supernatural power to destroy them, they therefore fled in the utmost consternation. The Spaniards pursued, setting their dogs upon them, which tore some of them in pieces; while the soldiers made a great slaughter with their swords. In this engagement the cacique himself was killed, and about 600 of his people; some were taken, and the town was plundered, in which the conquerors found a considerable quantity of gold.

As some of the Spaniards were now grown sickly, Nunez left them in the town which belonged to the late cacique, where he took fresh guides, and men to carry burdens, dismissing those who belonged to Careta. He then proceeded towards the top of the mountains, which was at the distance of

about six days journey; but in this progress he spent twenty-five, on account of the ruggedness of the way, and the difficulty of procuring provisions. At length Nunez having notice given him that they were near the summit, commanded his men to halt, and going up alone saw the South Sea; which he no sooner beheld, than, falling on his knees, he returned thanks to heaven for being the first who had seen it. This done he called his men, and again falling on his knees, they followed his example, while the Indians stood amazed at seeing such expressions of joy and wonder. Nunez then extolled the intelligence given him by Comagre's son; and largely expatiated on the wealth and happiness his followers would possess: they readily believed all he said, for he was extremely beloved, on account of his bravery, his compassion for the sick and wounded, and his making no difference between himself and the meanest soldier.

Nunez being informed that near this place there was another town, belonging to a chief, whose name was Chiapes, advanced very cautiously; while that cacique, perceiving the small number of the Spaniards, marched against them; but drawing near, the latter received them with their fire-arms and cross-bows, after which they let loose their dogs. The Indians, terrified at this unusual mode of warfare, fled with precipitation, while the Spaniards pursued, and took some of them prisoners, part of whom they dismissed, with some of Quarequa's people, to assure Chiapes that they desired his friendship. At this message, the cacique thought it best to conciliate these dreadful enemies, and therefore waited upon them with the value of 4000 pieces of eight in gold. Nunez received him very

graciously, giving him some beads, looking-glasses and hatchets; and having also given some trifles to Quarequa's Indians, he dismissed them well pleased with their reception.

Nunez now sent captain Francis Pizarro, Juan Escarray, and Alonzo Martin, with twelve men each, to find the shortest way to the sea. This being discovered by Alonzo Martin, Nunez proceeded to the sea side with the cacique, to try what farther discoveries could be made. On reaching the shore, the Spanish commander, armed as he was, advanced till the water took him up to the middle; and then caused a notification to be made, of his taking possession of that sea, its coasts, and the islands in it, on behalf of the crown of Castile. As a memorial of this transaction, he cut down timber, erected crosses, raised heaps of stones, and cut the king of Spain's name on some of the trees.

He then crossed the mouth of a river, and landed on the opposite side, in the territories of another Indian prince, whose name was Coura, and who at first made some resistance; but finding it ineffectual, he sent his son to treat with them, and soon after carried them a considerable present himself.

Balboa at length observing a large bay, resolved to navigate it, and therefore desired the Indians to furnish him with canoes; which they did, and offered to accompany him, though at the same time they advised him to defer the attempt, as the rains were coming on, and the bay was far from being safe; but he obstinately refused to comply with this advice, and embarked with fourscore Spaniards, together with Chiapes and some of his attendants, on board nine canoes.

They weighed anchor on the 29th of September;

for which reason he called it St. Michael's Bay: but when they were at some distance from land, the waves began to swell so high, that Nunez repented he had not taken the advice given him by Chiapes, and was soon in the utmost danger of perishing: but the Indians had recourse to their usual remedy; and fastening two canoes together with cords, to prevent their being so easily overset, gained an island, where they lashed their canoes to the rocks or trees. Here they continued all night in the utmost uneasiness; for upon the flood the whole island was covered with water, and they were obliged to stand in it almost up to their waists. When day appeared, and the water ebbed, they went in search of their canoes, but found some of them beaten in pieces or split, and the others rendered nearly useless by the water and sand, which had also completely destroyed their provisions. In this distressing state they pulled off the tender bark of the young trees, and, bruising it with grass and other herbs, endeavoured to stop the crannies of such of the canoes as were not staved, and thus embarked, almost famished with hunger.

They now steered towards the dominions of a cacique named Tumaco, which lay in a creek of the bay, where they found him ready to oppose them. Nunez perceiving his men weak and hungry, no sooner landed than he picked out a few of the ablest of them, whom he placed in the front. These committing great havoc, and Tumaco being wounded, the rest were obliged to retire. Soon after Chiapes sent some of his followers, to let Tumaco know the power of the Spaniards, and the kindness they showed to those who were their friends. The

cacique, however, could not be persuaded to believe their report; but a second messenger prevailed so far, that he sent his son, whom Nunez entertained very courteously, giving him a shirt and some toys, and advised him to persuade his father to come himself, and have a share in his friendship; on which Tumaco went, attended by many of his subjects, but carried no present. However, Nunez treating him with much respect, the cacique became pacified; and, losing all his apprehensions, sent some of his servants home, who brought gold to the value of 614 pieces of eight, and, what was much more extraordinary, 240 fine large pearls, with many others that were bright, though small. At this sight Nunez and his men were filled with joy, believing the immense treasures Comagre's son had mentioned, were now at hand. The large pearls were of great value; and would have been of still greater, had not the Indians used fire in opening the oysters, which rendered them darker than they naturally were. Tumaco, observing that the pearls gave the Spaniards such joy, sent some Indians to fish, who, within four days, brought as many as weighed ninety-six ounces. Both the Spaniards and Indians were much pleased; the former with the prospect of immense wealth; and the latter, especially the caciques, at obtaining the friendship of the Spaniards, for what they esteemed at so cheap a rate as pearls and gold. But Chiapes rejoiced most, on account of his being instrumental in gaining Tumaco's friendship.

These two caciques assured Nunez that there was a country in that bay, about five leagues from thence, governed by a powerful cacique, where there were abundance of large oysters, which con-

tained pearls as big as beans, on which Nunez ordered the canoes to be immediately got ready. The caciques intreated him not to think of such an expedition at that time, but to stay until summer, when the weather being calm, he might go with ease, and they then promised to go with him. Nunez approving this advice, Tumaco added, that the coast extended a prodigious way, pointing to Peru: that there was an immense quantity of gold, and that the natives used certain beasts to carry their burdens, which were the sheep of that country: he even made a representation of them in clay.

CHAP. III.

Nunez de Balboa sends another agent to the court of Spain with a rich present to the bishop of Burgos, who had appointed Pedrarias governor of Golden Castile. Pedrarias cruelly persecutes De Balboa, and treats the Indians with the utmost inhumanity, which forces them to take up arms against him. De Balboa, however, causes peace to be restored, builds a town on the South Sea, and is afterwards beheaded.

ABOUT the middle of January Nunez returned to Santa Maria, carrying with him gold and pearls to a considerable amount, of which he made a very equitable division; reserving the fifth part for the king, and distributing the rest among the soldiers, in such a manner, that they were perfectly satisfied with his conduct. He now judged, with great appearance of reason, that the signal services he had performed, rendered it impossible for the ministers to deny, that he had made amends for any indiscretions into which he had formerly fallen. He therefore resolved to send another agent to Spain

with the king's money, and with more considerable presents than it was in his power to send by the former; and appointed Pedro Abolanchos, a person of capacity, and, what was still of greater consequence, of unshaken integrity and fidelity, on that important occasion.

On his arrival at court, he applied himself to the bishop of Burgos, who received his letters with civility, which changed into the greatest kindness and friendship, on seeing the pearls and gold sent him by De Balboa; for these fully convinced him of his innocence, and of his being a good and faithful officer. He therefore took great pains to vindicate him to king Ferdinand, who had hitherto a great aversion to De Balboa: but the favours of this prelate came too late, for he had already done this unhappy man such an injury, as it was now out of his power to repair. It was a maxim with him, that nothing was so dangerous as suffering the great men, who made discoveries in America, to perfect them; and as soon as they had opened the road to new countries, and had overcome the first, which are always the greatest difficulties, it was his constant method to send some of his own creatures to reap the fruits of their labours.

Before the arrival of De Balboa's agent, he had chosen Pedro Arias d'Avila governor of Castillo del Oro, whom the Spanish writers, by joining his two first names, commonly called Pedrarias. He was a man of birth, and of a courtly education, but proud, haughty, insincere, barbarous, unjust, and cruel beyond expression; one who thought the only compensation that could be made for leaving his native country was, the raising a vast fortune; which, as he wanted abilities to do in an honest way, he re-

solved to bring about by the methods he best understood, which were violence, fraud and oppression, in all which he was a complete master. We have his character drawn by the bishop of Chiapa, who represents him as the most wicked monster that was ever sent into those parts.

This new governor sailed from Spain on the 12th of April, 1514, with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board of which were 2,000 soldiers, John de Quevedo, who, before his departure, was consecrated bishop of Darien, and many other persons of distinction, among whom was Enciso, provost-marshal to Pedrarias, the mortal enemy of Nunez. This fleet arrived in the Gulf of Uraba in the latter end of July, and thence proceeded to Santa Maria, where the commander was received with all imaginable respect by Nunez de Balboa.

Pedrarias was very much surprised at the late governor's appearance, and the flourishing state in which he found the colony. There was, indeed, a strong fort, and 450 effective men to defend it. Nunez's house contained but three rooms; and his dress, which corresponded with his dwelling, consisted but of a pair of canvas drawers, and a cotton waistcoat over his shirt. His diet, like his habitation and dress, was simple, for he fared no better than the meanest of his soldiers. There were no murmurings nor complaints; he maintained his authority by his merit, while his soldiers loved and obeyed him as a father. His only fault was his ambition, which led him to do some unwarrantable acts, in order to obtain power: but, when he had once acquired it, none used it better. His accounts were clear; he made good every thing he had written to Spain, and proved that he had opened a

passage to the South Seas; in return for these services, Pedrarias committed him prisoner to the custody of Enciso, and did not set him at liberty until he had fined him in above half his fortune.

In order to justify this proceeding, he sent a very false report to the court of Spain, expecting that this would have procured him authority for going greater lengths; but he was mistaken. He had brought over some honest men with him, who ventured to send the truth to court, and it received all the credit it deserved.

In answer to these representations, Pedrarias received fresh advices from his majesty, in which the king declared, that he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Nunez de Balboa, and had created him lord lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas; that his majesty expected that the governor should take his advice; and that the measure of his obedience to his royal orders would appear from the respect he showed to Nunez de Balboa. Pedrarias, equally displeased and disappointed, took care to conceal his instructions; and, like a true courtier, resolved to conform in appearance to his master's orders; but, in effect, to disobey them, and to leave no means untried to procure the destruction of the man he hated.

In order to lessen the character of his predecessor, and to raise his own, Pedrarias sent several of his officers to make excursions into the country; which he thought must produce new discoveries, as indeed they did: but these were neither to the advantage of the colony, nor to the crown of Spain, since they only contributed to show the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards in the most glaring light. His officers knew that the only means to obtain

his favour and protection was, to make him large presents, which were only to be obtained by plundering the natives; and this they did so cruelly, that, in a few month's time, the reputation for honesty and kind usage, which Nunez de Balboa had been at some pains to establish, was entirely lost, and a war between them and the natives broke out afresh, with greater fury than ever; so that there were no great hopes of his making any progress. When he came seriously to consider this, he entered upon a new scheme, and, by the assistance of bishop Quevedo, became reconciled to Nunez, who very sincerely applied himself, as formerly, to the public service, and that with his usual success.

This, however, only served to raise the envy of Pedrarias, even though he had promised to give Nunez his daughter, and publicly treated him as his son. He had employed him in erecting a town, establishing a port, and building ships, on the South Sea; all which, with incredible labour and fatigue, he at length accomplished. This added to the reputation he had before acquired, and Pedrarias, finding that most of his people were inclined to remove, and settle in the town built by de Balboa, as soon as it should be finished, resolved no longer to delay removing a man whose superiority became every day more conspicuous; and for this purpose he sent for him to Santa Maria.

De Balboa, relying on his innocence, and thinking it out of the governor's power to hurt him, made no difficulty of obeying the order; but immediately on his arrival, a fresh prosecution was carried on against him, under the same pretences for which he had fined him before; and to which he added

another very extraordinary accusation, a treasonable intention to usurp the king's domain, founded upon nothing more than cutting down, without the governor's licence, some timber for erecting public edifices; and, to the amazement and horror of the inhabitants of the colony, he, upon this charge, condemned him to suffer death, and actually caused this unfortunate gentleman to be publicly beheaded.

Such was the fate of Vasquez Nunez de Balboa, who, in the 42d year of his age, suffered as a traitor, for having served his prince with too much zeal and fidelity. This happened in the year 1517, and in the third of Pedraria's government. The royal audience at St. Domingo, however, loudly condemned this action, yet Pedrarias does not seem to have ever been called to an account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to retain his government, where he pursued the same barbarous track for many years afterwards.

CHAP. IV.

Pedrarias builds the city of Panama, and engages in a long and unsuccessful war against the cacique Urraca. The court of Spain sends a new governor to supersede him, upon which he retires to Nicaragua, where, under the form of justice, he murders Francis Hernandez, who had made a conquest of that province.

PEDRARIAS having thus freed himself from a man whom he at once both feared and hated, resolved to settle a new colony on the coast of the South Seas; though the place chosen, from the heat and moisture of the adjacent country, was

This was the more extraordinary, as no man ever met with more opposition than he did: for, on the one hand, he was hated to the last degree by the Indians, for whose sake the bishop of Chiapa had the humanity to go to Madrid to solicit relief. The Spanish officers, who were uneasy under his government, sent home a true representation of his conduct, which was such as would have ruined the fortune of any other man. Besides all this, he was upon very bad terms with the royal audience at St. Domingo, which was then the supreme tribunal in the West Indies; and the chief reason for his removing the seat of his government from Santa Maria to Panama was, that he might be farther out of their reach.

However, about the beginning of the year 1526, the court of Spain, wearied with continual complaints against him, resolved to send him a successor. Pedrarias was informed of this resolution; and, as he knew no means of avoiding it, he began to consider where to find another establishment. There was only one expedition, under any of his creatures, which had met with success; and that was, the conquest of Nicaragua by Francis Hernandez, who acted under his licence; a part of the expence of which was also defrayed by him. He resolved, therefore, to retire into this country, in order to secure it for himself, though it of right belonged to him who had subdued it; and also to avoid delivering up his province to his successor in person, lest he should treat him as he himself had treated Nunez. It might be imagined, that when his affairs were in such a situation, he would have abated somewhat of his pride, or at least of his cruelty; but, whether he had no power over his

temper, or knew that he had still interest enough at court to prevent his being called to an account for murder, he committed one more base and barbarous, if possible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

On his entering the new province, he pretended that he had received information, that his deputy intended to revolt; and therefore sent for him to answer to the charge. Francis Hernandez came with that boldness which is natural to innocence; but Pedrarias no sooner had him in his power, than he caused his head to be struck off; alleging, that there was no other way for a government to be safe against persons in power, when their fidelity was once suspected. Yet, black and heinous as this fact was, he not only escaped being called to an account for it, but was confirmed in the government of Nicaragua; as if the gratification of his own cruel disposition had been an indisputable proof of his zeal and attachment to the crown of Spain.

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